



THE ROLE OF ELECTION COMMISSION IN INDIA

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

**Master
of
Library & Information Science**
1994-95

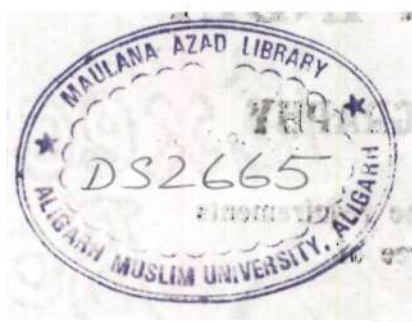
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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
Mr. S. HASAN ZAMARRUD
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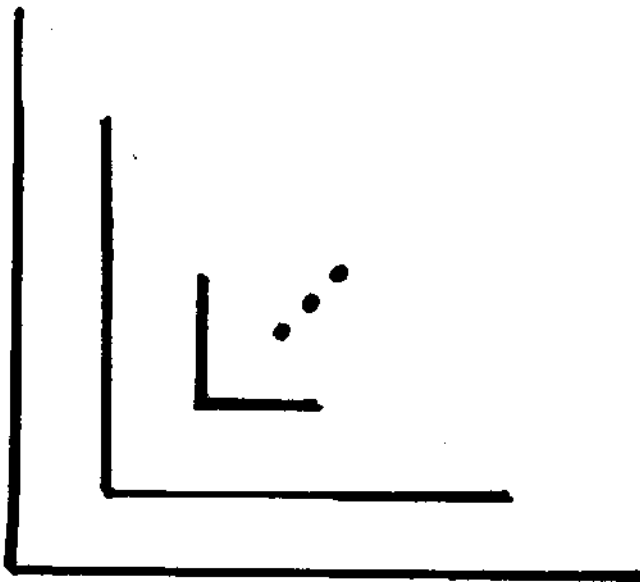
DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY & INFORMATION SCIENCE
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH (INDIA)

1995





*Dedicated
to Whom
I
Love ****



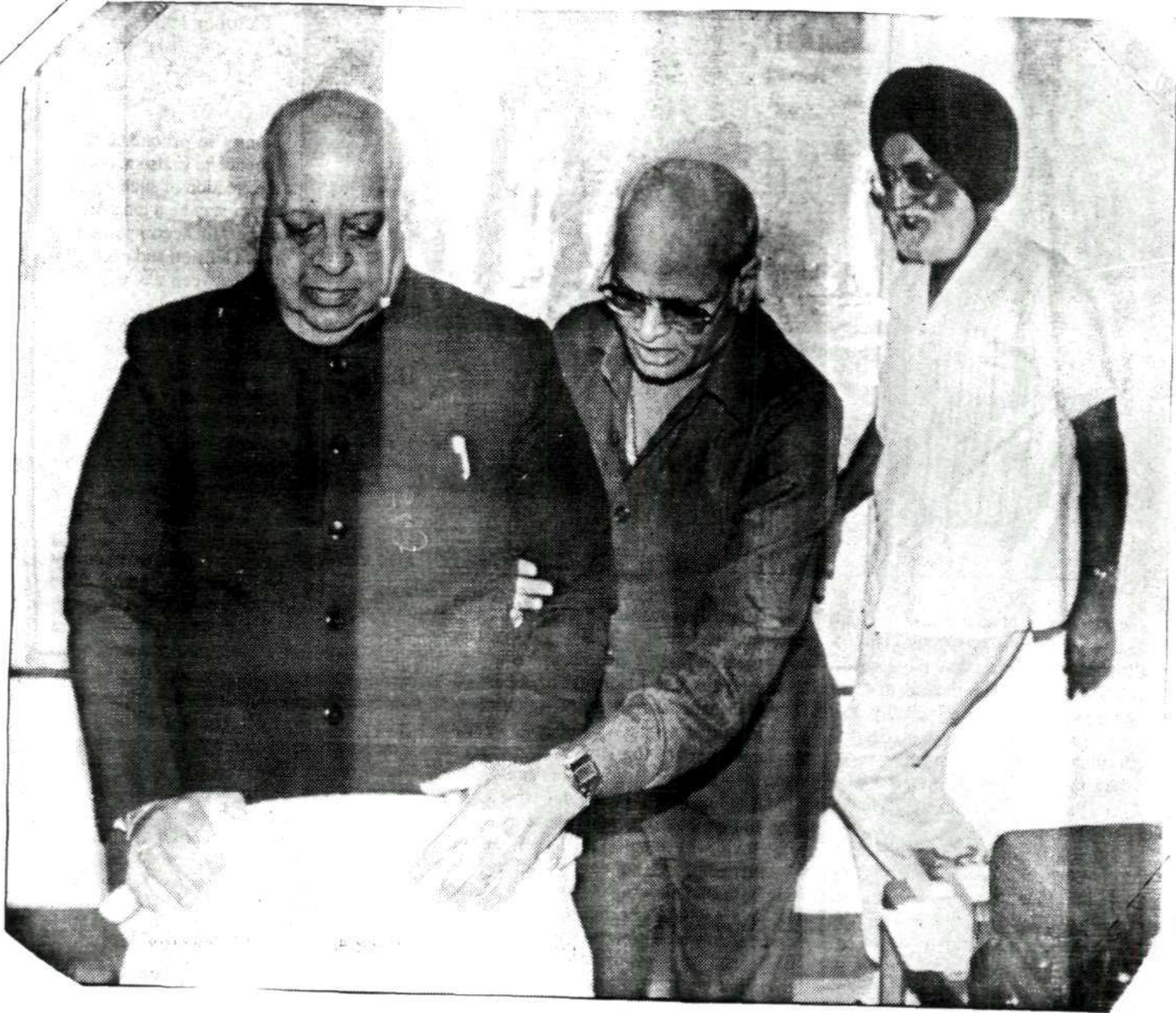
T.N. SESHAN

"DEMOCRACY IS THE
RIGHT TO DISAGREE"



"The powers vested in me enable me to act ruthlessly
to ensure free and fair election".

"Chief Election Commissioner
with
Election Commissioners"



T.N. SESHAN , G.V.K. KRISHNAMURTHY and
M.S. GILL

"A Multimember Election
Commission"

C O N T E N T S

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T
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I am principally indebted to Mr. Shabhat Husain, Chairman, Department of Library & Information Science, AMU, Aligarh, for his worthy advice at every stage whenever needed during my stay in the department.

Sometimes, the words are considered too dwarf to express the towering height of a personality. Such is the case to express my attributes to Prof. Noorul Hasan Khan, University Librarian, and Ex-Chairman, Department of Library & Information Science, AMU, Aligarh who besides providing necessary facilities also gave me personal assistance in many ways to make my stay in this institution possible.

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Thanks are also due to Director, National Library, Alipur, Calcutta and to the Librarians and other functionaries of Muslim Library, Jamshedpur, D.M. Library, Jamshedpur, Nehru Museum Memorial Library, Teen Murti Bhavan, New Delhi, for proving me necessary assistance and the reading material needed for my present work.

I must also pay my humble respect to my loving father, cousin, Perwez Ahmad, Javed Husain, Syed Irfan Akhtar, Qaiser Hyatt, without whose foresightedness and self sacrifice this work and my present career would be nothing but a wishful thinking.

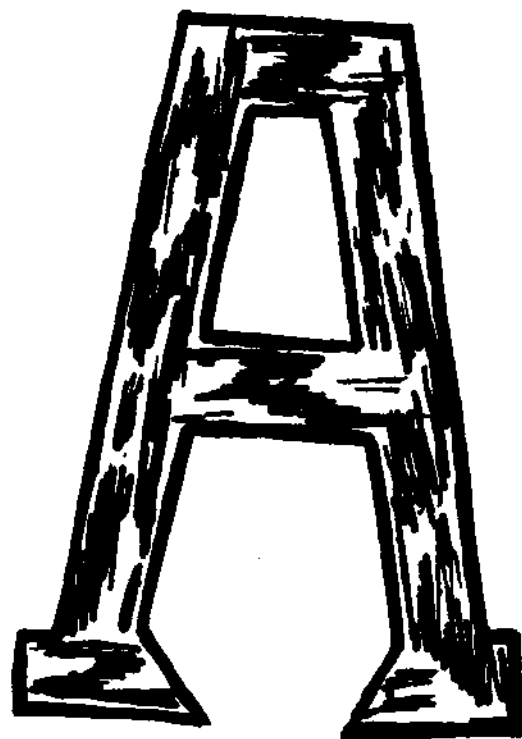
A lot of thanks go to my classmates and friends for their continuing cooperation throughout the year.

Last but not the least my thanks are due to Mr. Mohd Riaz Khan, for his accurate and good piece of typing.

MOHD IMTEYAZ ALAM

SECRET[®] 2017

INTRODUCTION



AIM, SCOPE AND METHODOLOGYAim and Scope:

The 'literature explosion' has become a problem of great concern. The phrase have been coined like 'too much information means no information'. To be more specific I may state a few lines quoted by B.N. Banerjee in his book 'Rise of Science and Technology Libraries in India', where is the wisdom, we have lost in knowledge, where is the knowledge we have lost in information.

Thus, the literature explosion stresses upon, the effectiveness of reference service. The reference without effective, authentic and uptodate reference tools is meaning less.

This study has been embarked upon to introduce the Role of Election Commission. The study provides an overview and scope of the information contained in these tools.

Although the Bibliography is selective in nature, an attempt has been made to cover almost all the aspects of the role of election commission. I am confident that this bibliography will be helpful to all those who have some interests in the role of election commission.

Section A deals with the Introduction of the Election Commission and name of the Journals and Daily News papers that provides valuable material to bring out this work.

Section B deals with bibliography is arranged alphabetically with respective numbers.

Section C deals with indices of Authors and Titles.

METHODOLOGY:

The procedure followed in compiling this bibliography is as follows:

- a) The secondary sources are consulted in M.A. Library, AMU, Aligarh to find out the location of the articles. These are -
 - (i) Index India (Rajasthan University, Jodhpur)
 - (ii) Indian Press Index (Indian Documentation Service, Gurgaon)
 - (iii) Guide to Indian Periodical Literature (Delhi Library Association).
- b) The relevant bibliographical details were noted down on 5"x7" cards following the ISI standards.
- c) The primary sources were consulted in libraries of Aligarh, Calcutta, Delhi, Jamshedpur.

- d) Subject headings to all these entries have been assigned which are completely co-extensive to the extent possible.
- e) The entries are arranged alphabetically under subject headings, following letter by letter method. The entry element of the author is in capital letters followed by the secondary element in paranthesis using capital and small letters and small letters and then the title of the article, sub-title (if any). Then name of the periodical being underlined followed by the volume, issue, the year, the month and date, and pages of the articles. Each entry is then followed by an informative abstract of the article.
- f) Two separate alphabetical index are appended viz. author index and title index, providing references to the entries by their respective numbers. No subject index has been provided as bibliography itself is arranged alphabetically through subject headings.

Standard Followed:

Care has been taken to follow strictly the rules and practices of CCC, as it gives a uniformity for the bibliographical references. The arrangement for the bibliographical references is the following:

- a) Serial number or the entry number
- b) Surname (forename) of the Author(s)
- c) Full stop (.)
- d) Title of the article including sub-title (if any)
- e) Full stop (.)
- f) Name of the periodical in full being underlined
- g) Semi colon (;)
- h) Volume number
- i) Coma (,)
- j) Issue number
- k) Semi colon (;)
- l) Year of publication
- m) Coma (,)
- n) month
- o) Coma (,)
- p) Date
- q) Semi colon (;)
- r) Inclusive pages of article

Specimen Entry:

180. ELECTION COMMISSION Vs SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT,
MULTI-MEMBER

COLD WAR in EC. Hindustan Times. 71, 242; 1995, Aug,
19; 11.

The editorial highlights the cold war between
the election commission and supreme court. The SC has

suggested the impossible by asking the three-member election commission to strive for unanimously in decision-making. The President can intervene but the Chief Election Commission is not bound by any command from Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Libraries Visited:

1. National Library, Alipur, Calcutta.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Muslim and Library, Teen Murty Bhawan, New Delhi.
3. M.A. Library, AMU, Aligarh.
4. (a) Seminar, Department of Political Science, AMU, Aligarh
(b) Library of Coaching and Guidance Centre, AMU, Aligarh
5. Muslim Library, Bistupur, Jamshedpur.
6. D.M. Library, Sakchi, Jamshedpur.
7. XLRI Library, Circuit House, Jamshedpur.
8. Bihar Association Library, Sakchi, Jamshedpur.

I N T R O D U C T I O N
=====

Under the constitution the Election Commission has wide powers. Article 324 states: 1) The superintendence direction and control of the preparation of the electoral rolls for and the conduct of all elections to Parliament and to the legislature of every state and of election to the offices of President and Vice President.... shall be vested in a commission (referred to in the Constitution as the Election Commission).

2. The Election Commission shall consist of the Chief Election Commissioner and such number of other Election Commissioners, if any, as the President may from time to time fix and the appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners shall, subject to the provisions of any law made in that behalf by parliament, be made by the President.

3. When any other Election Commissioner is so appointed, the Chief Election Commissioner shall act as the Chairman of the Election Commission.

4. Before each general election to and the House of the People (Lok Sabha) and the Legislative Assembly of each state.... the President may also appoint, after consultation with the Election Commissioners and Regional

Commissioners as he may consider necessary to assist the Election Commission in the performance of the function conferred on the commission.

5. Subject to the provisions of any law made by Parliament, the conditions of service and tenure of office of the Election Commissioners and the Regional Commissioners shall be such as the President may by rule determine.

Provided that the Chief Election Commissioner shall not be removed from his office except in like manner and on the like grounds as a Judge of the Supreme Court and the conditions of service of the Chief Election Commissioner shall not be varied to his disadvantage after his appointment.

6. The President or the Governor of the state shall, when so requested by the Election Commission, make available to the Election Commission or a Regional Commissioner such staff as may be necessary for the discharge of the function conferred on the Election Commission by Clause (1).

ELECTORAL MACHINERY:

That the success of democracy depends upon free and fair election is a cliché but still it is of paramount significance. This phrase means that there must be no restrictions on the freedom of individual citizens to offer themselves as candidates and to gain electoral support by all legitimate means; and every voter must have the freedom to vote exactly as he chooses, without fear of consequences and without having to submit to duress or pressure from outside. This happy state of affairs greatly depends for its emergence, upon the competency of the administrative services which are charged with the duty of conducting elections and their impartiality.

The constitution establishes a centralised election agency in the shape of the election commission to be put incharge of all elections matters. Article 324 says:

- (1) The superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of the electoral rolls, for and the conduct of, all elections to parliament and to the legislature of every state and of elections

to the offices of President and Vice-President held under this constitution, including the appointment of election tribunal for the decision of doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with elections to parliament and to the legislatures of states shall be vested in a commission (referred to in this constitution as the election commission).

- (2) The election commission shall consist of the chief election commissioner and such number of other election commissioners, if any, as the President may from time to time fix and the appointment of the chief election commissioner and other election commissioners, shall subject to the provision of any law made in that behalf by parliament, be made by the president.
- (3) When any other election commissioner is so appointed the chief election commissioner shall act as the chairman of the election commission.
- (4) Before each general election to the house of people and to the legislative assembly of each state, the president may also appoint after consultation with the election commission such regional commissioners

as he may consider necessary to assist the election commission in the performance of the functions conferred on the commission by clause (1).

- (5) Subject to the provisions of any law made by parliament, the conditions of service and tenure of office of the election commissioners shall be such as the president may by rule determine:

Provided that the chief election commissioner shall not be removed from his office except in like manner and on the like grounds as a judge of the supreme court and the conditions of service of the chief election commissioner shall not be varied to his disadvantage after his appointment:

Provided further that any other election commissioner or a regional commissioner shall not be removed from office except on the recommendation of the chief election commissioner.

- (6) The president or the governor of a state, shall, when so requested by the election commission, make available to the election commission or to a regional commissioner such staff as may be necessary for the discharge of the function conferred on the election commission by clause (1).

Though there is at present a centralised agency to conduct elections for the parliament as well as the state legislatures ~~it was~~ originally proposed that there should be one commission to deal with the elections to parliament and a separate election commission for each state. The necessity of which was explained at length by B.R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. He said: "the change has become necessary because today we find that in some of the provinces of India, the population is a mixture. There are what may be called original inhabitants, so to say, the native people of a particular province. Along with them, there are other people residing there, who are rather racially, linguistically or culturally different from the dominant people who are the occupants of that particular province. The House will realise that franchise is a most fundamental thing in a democracy.

In order, therefore, to prevent injustice being done by provincial governments to people other than those who belong to the province racially, linguistically and culturally. It is felt desirable to depart from the original proposal of having a separate election commission for each province under the guidance of the Governor and the local government. Therefore, this new change has been

brought about, namely, the whole of the election machinery should be in the hands of a election commission which alone would be entitled to issue directives to returning officers, polling officers and other engaged in the preparation and revision of electoral rolls so that no injustice may be done to any citizen in India, who under this constitution is entitled to be brought on the electoral rolls.

The constitution provides for a permanent agency, headed by the chief election commissioner, who is a whole-time official. As B.R. Ambedkar explained in the constituent assembly: "there were two alternatives before the Drafting committee, namely, either to have a permanent body consisting of four or five members of the election commission who would continue in office throughout without any break, or to permit the president to have an ad-hoc body appointed at the time when there is an election on the anvil. The committee has steered a middle course. Elections no doubt will generally take place at the end of five years; but there is this question, namely, that a bye-election may take place at any time. The assembly may be dissolved before its period of five years has expired. Consequently, the electoral rolls will have to be kept up to date all the time so that the new election may take place without any difficulty. It was, therefore, felt that having regard

to these exigencies, it would be sufficient if there was permanently in session one officer to be called the chief election commissioner, while when the elections are coming up, the president may further add to the machinery by appointing other members to the election commission.

The election commission consists of the chief election commissioner, and such number of other election commissioners, if any, as the president may from time to time fix. The chief election commissioner is a whole-time official to be appointed by the president. He acts as the chairman of the election commission. To enable him to function impartially and fearlessly, he enjoys security of tenure, in as much as he cannot be removed from his office except in like manner and on the like grounds as a judge of the supreme court; and the conditions of service cannot be varied to his disadvantage after appointment. He thus, enjoys all the appurtenances of a supreme court judge. Further, any other election commissioner or a regional commission of the chief election commissioner. His salary as well as the expenditure on the staff of the election commission are a charge on the consolidated fund of India, thus, not subject to the vote of parliament.

The election commission performs the following functions:

- (a) It undertakes proper preparation and maintenance of the electoral rolls. It directs and controls the annual preparation or revision of electoral rolls in all states and fixes programmes connected therewith.
- (b) It appoints chief electoral officer for each state in consultation with the government concerned, electoral registration officers, returning officers, and assistant returning officers for each assembly and parliamentary constituency. The revising authorities are appointed by the state governments with the approval of the commission to decide claims and objections during the preparation of the electoral rolls.
- (c) It superintends elections to fill vacancies occurring from time to time in parliament as well as state legislatures.
- (d) The commission receives election petitions challenging the validity of elections. The commission appoints election tribunals of their hearing; can withdraw the petition pending before the Tribunal

and transfer to other tribunal at any stage after notice to parties and for reasons to be recorded.

- (e) The commission decides whether any contesting candidate has failed to lodge his account of election expenses within the time or in the prescribed manner. The decision is announced in the gazette, and the candidate is informed about it.
- (f) It advises the president or the governor (as the case may be) in deciding whether a member of parliament or a member of the state legislature (as the case may be) has incurred any of the disqualifications.
- (g) The chief election commissioner is an ex-officio member of the delimitation commission, which is an independent commission set up from time to time, is more or less judicial in character, and is entrusted with the task of readjustment or delimitation of constituencies.
- (h) The election commission has the authority to order the production and inspection of election papers while in the custody of returning officers.

Though the constitution provides for the appointment, by the president, of election commissioner to assist the chief election commissioner. The Deputy election commissioners performed a host of activities.

Subject to the superintendence direction and control of the election commission, the chief election officer and each state supervises the preparation and revision of all electoral rolls, and the conduct of all elections in the state. The power of appointment vests in the commission. Further, the incumbent may perform his functions with independence and impartiality if he is placed under the direct control of the commission. This was to ensure that the chief electoral officer might be an officer of a sufficiently high seniority and status and might possess the necessary background, independence and training which could equip him adequately for the responsible task he would be called upon to perform. The administrative set-up of the office of the chief electoral officer has varied from state to state, as well as in point of time. Some states had whole-time chief electoral officers while others had part-time ones, i.e. they were burdened with other duties as well.

The organisation of the election machinery at the district level varies from state to state. Broadly, there are three patterns of such organisation: in some states there is a whole-time district election officer in every district, with a nucleus office of his own; in other states an administrative officer in the district is placed in charge of election work in addition to his normal duties and he is provided with a nucleus office for the election work; and in yet other states there is no separate identifiable pattern as the election work is done by the normal administrative machinery.

At the constituency level the two phases of election work viz., preparation of electoral rolls, and actual conduct of elections, are entrusted to separate officers - the electoral registration officer, and the returning officer respectively. The official hierarchy for the preparation and maintenance of electoral rolls consists of the following: (i) The election commission is the central authority, and it issues instructions, directives, circulars and exercises general supervision and control over the preparation and revision of the electoral rolls, (ii) The chief electoral officer, who has been given legal status for the purpose of preparation and revision of the electoral rolls, (iii) The electoral

registration officer for each assembly constituency whose responsibility it is to prepare and annually revise the electoral rolls for the constituency. He is an officer of the state government, nominated by the election commission in consultation with the state government concerned. The law provides for the appointment of one or more assistant electoral registration officers to assist him in his work. Objections to any of his decisions may be made to the officer himself, and after that, an appeal may be made to the officer himself, and after that, an appeal may be made to an officer designated by the election commission. Any claim or objection is to be countersigned by another person already enrolled as a voter in that area and it is not necessary that the claimant should personally present his claim to the registration officer.

For each constituency the election commission, in consultation with the state government, designates or a returning officer who is an officer of the government, as well as one or more assistant returning officers to assist him in the performance of his functions. He is, normally of the rank of district collectors and sub-divisional officers and is in charge of the conduct of elections. The election commission has not been armed with sufficient powers to enable it exercise effective control over the returning officers at the time of

counting of votes and declaration of results. In April, 1962, some new powers were given to the commission. It, however, appears necessary that more and well-defined powers should be conferred on it so that the chief election commissioner may have effective control over the returning officer in matters of counting of votes and declaration of election results.

This, in brief, is the electoral machinery as evolved in India to conduct the biggest election in the world, i.e. 'democratic' world. It must be readily appreciated that the success of the general election depends to a large degree upon the adequacy, competence, integrity and impartiality of the electoral machinery. There is no particular magic in the fashionable title of electoral commissioner. Its meaning depends entirely on the degree of independence given to the commission and the scope of its responsibilities. Besides, an electoral commission cannot enlist a complete electoral 'service' of its own to work for it and it is therefore in the last resort dependent on ordinary officials at lower levels are of no less importance and therefore, must receive fullest attention in any scheme of free election.

ELECTION PROGRAMME:

The normal term of the Lok Sabha and the Legislative Assembly of a state is five years from the date of their first meeting after a general election. The President in the case of elections to the Lok Sabha and the Governor of the state in the case of elections to the State Assembly issue notification, on the recommendation of the Election Commission, calling the general election. The law permits this notification to be issued at any time not earlier than six months before the expiry of the normal five-year term. A general election to the Lok Sabha or to a state assembly may also be called when it is dissolved earlier than the expiry of the five year term.

The time table for an election consists of the following stages:

- I. The notification calling upon the constituencies to elect.
- II. The nomination of candidates, the scrutiny of nominations and the withdrawal of candidates from the contest.
- III. The election campaign.
- IV. The poll.

SYMBOLS:

The election commission specifies the symbols and lays down how a candidate may choose his symbol. There are two types of symbols: (1) symbols reserved for political parties; and (2) free symbols. All candidates belonging to any recognised political party contesting the election on a multi-state basis will have the same symbol, whether for a parliamentary seat or an assembly seat. Some political parties confine their election contests to particular states; in such cases symbols are allotted to their candidates on a state basis. Where a political party recognised in more than one state sets up candidates in any other state or Union territory, the party symbol would be allotted also to those candidates. The free symbols are made available to independents and others for whom symbols have not been reserved. In allotting free symbols, a sitting member will be allotted the same symbol which was allotted to him at the previous election.

ELECTORAL ROLLS:

The law regarding the preparation of electoral rolls for assembly and parliamentary constituencies, as contained in the representation of the People Act, 1950,

and the Registration of Electors Rules, 1960, remained practically the same until December, 1966, when a few minor amendments were made. After the general elections of 1962 the commission directed that a summary revision of the electoral rolls would ordinarily be sufficient in the years 1963 and 1964. Intensive revision of the rolls on the basis of house to house canvassing by official enumerators was limited to a few constituencies or parts of constituencies whenever special reasons existed.

The commission was convinced that it was a waste of efforts to revise every year the electoral rolls of all the constituencies in the country. The devise of summary revision made the task somewhat easier for the electoral registration officer since he had only to prepare a list of amendments to the various parts of the electoral rolls on the basis of such information as might be readily available, publish the rolls together with this list in draft and finalise it after going through the usual claims and objections procedure, but such a nominal revision was purposeless from the practical point of view.

This recommendation was accepted by parliament and the sub-section was amended by the representation of the people (Amendment) Act, 1966 to read:

The said roll -

- (a) shall, unless otherwise directed by the election commission for reasons to be reported in writing, be revised in the prescribed manner by reference to the qualifying date -

- (i) before each general election to the House of the people or to the legislative assembly of a state; and

- (ii) before each bye-election to fill a casual vacancy in a seat allotted to the constituency; and

- (b) shall be revised in any year in the prescribed manner by reference to the qualifying date if such revision has been directed by the election commission:

Provided that if the electoral rolls is not revised as aforesaid, the validity or continued operation of the said electoral roll shall not thereby be affected.

Every citizen who is not less than 18 years of age on the 1st day of January of the year in which the electoral roll for a constituency is prepared or revised and is ordinarily resident in constituency at the time of such preparation or revision is entitled to be registered in the roll.

The language or languages in which the electoral rolls of constituencies are to be prepared is decided by the commission. The general direction given by the commission was that the election roll for a constituency in a state should be prepared in the official language of the state, but in any particular constituency where a substantial section of the population spoke another language, the roll for the constituency should be prepared in that language and in the official language of the state.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES:

A thorough grasp of the legal provisions relating to nominations of candidates and their qualifications and disqualifications is essential for returning officers. One of their important functions is to scrutinise the nomination papers of all candidates standing for election and decide summarily but in a judicial manner, which of them have been validly nominated. It is clearly laid down in the law that the returning officer shall not reject a nomination paper on the ground of any defect which is not of a substantial character. He may reject a nomination if he is satisfied that there has been a failure to comply with any of the mandatory provisions regarding nomination or that, on the date fixed for the scrutiny of nominations, the candidate is either not qualified

or is disqualified for standing for election under a constitutional or legal provision.

The representation of the people (amendment) Act of 1966 brought together in one chapter the provisions relating to disqualifications for membership of parliament and state legislatures which were scattered in different places in the main act. Only one additional disqualification was introduced by the amending act. A person convicted of any black marketing, hoarding or profiteering offence or of adulterating any food-stuff or drug disqualified from the date of such conviction and the disqualification would continue for five years after his release from prison.

Articles 84 and 173 of the constitution were then amended to provide that the person standing for election to parliament or to a state legislature must make and subscribe before some person authorised in that behalf by the election commission an oath or affirmation according to the form set out in the third schedule to the constitution. In pursuance of these two articles of the constitution the commission authorised the returning officer and the assistant returning officers for each constituency as the persons before whom the oath may be taken and signed by the candidate standing for election from that constituency.

A simpler formula might be to apportion time entirely on the basis of the number of candidates each of the eligible parties sets up at the general election to the Lok Sabha or to the legislative assembly as the case may be.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN:

A candidate must make himself known to his voters. It is desirable that he should visit as many voters as possible and particularly in those areas where he is sure of support. Such visiting can be done rapidly, and it is profitable to make these visits in the company of one or two prominent members of each ward or locality who will introduce him to the voters. Where individual visits are not practicable, street or mohalla meetings may be organized. Such meetings, besides enabling the voters to know their candidate, will also create interest and build up the vote.

The usual methods of campaigning and canvassing are meetings, processions, speeches and slogans, handbills, placards and posters. The constitution guarantees to all citizens the fundamental rights of freedom of association and freedom of expression and speech.

Code of conduct for Election Campaign

Before deciding to hold a meeting at a particular place, the party concerned should obtain the required permission from the authority or person in charge of that place except in respect of public places where public meetings are usually conducted without speech permission.

If any permission or licences has to be obtained for the use of loud-speaker or any other facility in connection with the meeting, the party should apply to the authority concerned well in advance and obtain such permission or licence.

ELECTION POLLING:

The system of voting followed during the first two general elections was the balloting system. The voter exercised his franchise by putting a common ballot paper distinguished only by a serial number in the ballot box of the particular candidate for whom he wished to vote. At every polling station a separate box was placed for each candidate and a label was pasted bearing a pictorial representation of the symbol allotted to him. All these ballot boxes were placed in a screened compartment into

which the voter was asked to go with his ballot paper and insert it in the ballot box bearing the symbol of his choice, without making any mark whatsoever on the ballot paper.

Though the balloting system was simple and worked fairly well, it had several drawbacks, not the least of which was the cumbrousness involved in putting up large voting compartments and a number of ballot boxes at every polling station.

Under this system, a distinct ballot paper has to be prepared for each election containing the names of the contesting candidates and against each, the fascimile of the symbol allotted to that candidate. The voter is asked to mark with an inked rubber stamp on or near the symbol of the candidate for whom he wishes to vote, inside a small voting compartment, bring out the ballot paper after folding it so as to conceal his vote and insert it in the common ballot box kept in full view of the presiding officer and other persons present at the polling station. This system eliminated the possibility of ballot papers being surreptitiously taken out of the polling station or not being put in the ballot box or being transferred from the ballot box of one candidate to that of another candidate.

When poll was spread over ten or fifteen days, it was possible to deploy at least two policemen at each polling station, besides a certain number of patrolling parties in the constituency. Any such arrangement was out of the question for a one-day poll, since the whole police force of the state would not have been sufficient to provide even one constable for each of the 23,000 polling stations set up in the state.

The provision of police guards in the districts was confined to some polling stations in the towns and industrial areas. While in the past at least two constables or one constable and one trained national volunteer in uniform were put on duty at each polling station, it was remarkable that this time over 17,000 polling stations out of a total of 23,000 did not have a single constable attached.

During poll, the officials on duty at the polling stations could not be expected to know the election agents of all the candidates, with the result that the entry of an election agent into a polling station was some times objected to and the agent was unable to establish his credentials. In order to get over this difficulty, some returning officers used to issue unofficial identity cards to election agents.

Our election law and procedure have the usual built-in safeguards against impersonation of electors at polling station. Firstly, it is an offence under the Indian Penal Code punishable with one year imprisonment or with fine or with both. Secondly, the rules provide for challenging the identity of any person who turns up at a polling station claiming to be a certain elector on the roll and attempts to vote at the polling station. Thirdly, if the real elector on reaching the polling station finds that some one had impersonated him and already voted, the rules provide for the separate recording of his vote as a tendered vote. Fourthly, there is the device of putting an indelible ink mark on the left forefinger of every voter at the time he receives the ballot papers. This effectively prevents him from turning up at the same or any other polling station and trying to personate some other elector.

COUNTING OF VOTES:

On the eve of the elections, some persons expressed apprehensions about the safety of the ballot boxes containing the used ballot papers during the period between the conclusion of poll and the commencement of counting and the possibility of tampering

with the ballot papers. In order to allay these fears and apprehensions and to induce the maximum amount of confidence, the commission issued general instructions regarding the safe custody of ballot boxes after the poll and before counting. It also issued a direction to post an agent to keep watch at the place where ballot boxes were stored and the agent might be allowed to affix his own seals to the doors and windows of the building in which the ballot boxes were stored in addition to the seals that might be affixed by the returning officer. After all the ballot boxes had been received and stored and the room had been locked, no one should be allowed to go in until the morning of the date fixed for counting. If during this interval the room had to be opened for some reason, the returning officer should send for the candidates and open the room in their presence and, immediately after the purpose for which the room was opened had been served, the candidates or their representatives should again be allowed to seal the doors and windows. The commission also prescribed a log book to be maintained in order that a full record might be available of persons entering the room, purpose of the visit, time of entry, time of exit.

Under our election law, the elections are held in single member constituencies and each contest is decided in favour of the candidate who gets 'first past the goal post', irrespective of the actual size of the electoral support he has in the constituency. When a large number of candidates stand for election and a sizeable proportion of the votes cast is frittered away on those who are not the main contestants, the constituency is in effect deprived of its to choose a true representative. It, for instance, all the candidates who forfeited their security deposits at the last elections had abstained from the contest, the electorate in many constituencies would have had a better opportunity of choosing the right person.

ACCOUNTS OF ELECTION EXPENSES:

The law relating to election expenses and to the rendering of accounts by the candidates remained practically the same as before. Every contesting candidate at an election to the House of the People or to the Legislative Assembly of a state is required to keep a separate and correct account of all expenditure in connection with the election incurred or authorised by him or by his election agent between the date of publication of the notification calling the election and the date of publication of the notification calling the election and the date of declaration of the result.

Considering the extent of the constituencies and the size of the electorate, it cannot be said that the maximum prescribed by law for election expenses is at all high. The electorate of a parliamentary constituency in a state now averages nearly 5 lakhs and the constituency often extends over more than one administrative district.

The rules provide that the account to be maintained by each contesting candidate or his election agent should contain full particulars of every item of expenditure and that vouchers must be obtained unless from the nature of the expenditure such as postage, travelling by road or rail and the like, it is not practicable to do so. A true copy of the account supported by vouchers or receipts has to be lodged by the candidate himself with the district election officer within 30 days from the date on which the result of the election has been declared. The account lodged by any candidate is open to inspection in the office of the district election officer on payment of a small fee of one rupee.

The amending Act of 1966 revised the relevant section to read as follows:

'If the Election Commission is satisfied that a person -

- (a) has failed to lodge an account of election expenses within the time and in the manner required by or under this Act, and
- (b) has no good reason or justification for the failure, the Election Commission, shall, by order published in the Official Gazette, declare him to be disqualified and any such person shall be disqualified for a period of three years from the date of order.

There is no doubt that in many constituencies much money is spent on providing motor transport to workers who go round canvassing on behalf of a party or candidates. Not all the expenditure actually incurred by or on behalf of a candidate on this item is shown in his account. The commission is of the view that it should be practicable to restrict the number of motor vehicles used for this purpose. In an assembly constituency the number may be limited to three and in a parliamentary constituency to six. In order to be effective, the law should provide for full information being given by the candidate to the returning officer as to the vehicles which would be actually used by him or by his agents and workers during the electioneering period.

Even if the commission were to issue official poll cards, the candidates' agents would still like to contact the voters at the polling stations. From the administrative point of view, there are various difficulties in issuing official poll cards to electors. The administration could never be sure that poll cards addressed to individual voters are actually handed over to them, with the result that impersonation would be facilitated. On the other hand, the candidates' expenses on personal canvassing on polling day are not likely to be appreciably reduced by the issue of official poll cards to voters.

MULTIPLE ELECTIONS:

The Constitution provides that no person shall be a member of both Houses of Parliament. It requires parliament to make provision by law for the vacation by a person who is chosen a member of both Houses of his seat in one house or the other.

Parliament has provided by law that if a person is elected to both Houses of Parliament but has not taken his seat in either House, he should intimate of which of the Houses he wishes to be a member. This intimation must be given by a notice in writing signed by him and delivered to the Secretary to the Election Commission

within ten days from the date, or the later of the dates, of such election. His seat in the other House thereupon becomes vacant. If no such intimation is given, his seat in the Rajya Sabha (Council of States) automatically becomes vacant on the expiry of the twenty day. A choice once made in this regard is final and irrevocable.

If a person who is already a member of the Lok Sabha and has taken his seat in that House is elected to the Rajya Sabha his seat in the Lok Sabha becomes vacant on the date of such election.

If a person is elected to more than one seat in in the Lok Sabha or in the same House of Legislature of a state, he required by law to resign all but one of such seats within fourteen days from the date of such election. If the dates of his election are different in respect of different seats, he has to tender such resignation within fourteen days from the last of those dates. The resignation must be in writing under his signature and addressed to the Speaker or the Chairman of the House concerned; or where these offices are vacant, to the Deputy Speaker or the Deputy Chairman of the House; or where these offices

are vacant, to the Election Commission. If he fails to tender such resignation in time, all the seats to which he has been elected will become vacant.

ELECTORAL ROLE OF BROADCASTING:

An election provides an opportunity for imparting political education to the electorate. The need for such education is all the more in a country like India, where widespread illiteracy, unfortunately exists. The election commission observed: "On account of the multitude of parties, the strength and standing of some of whom were difficult to ascertain, the matter became too controversial and the Election Commission advised government that it would be almost an impossibility to apportion broadcasting facilities amongst the numerous 'recognised' parties with reasonable fairness and to the general satisfaction of the public. The government accepted the Commissioner's advice and no broadcasting facilities were extended to the parties for their election campaign.

In September, 1956 the commission made the suggestion that the recognised parties should have a basic quota of 30 minutes of broadcasting time, and

additional time proportionate to the percentage of votes polled previously. The Commission's suggestion was unacceptable to the government of India.

The Election Commission regrets that it was not ultimately found possible to make directly available to the recognised political parties the medium of the All-India Radio to cover their respective election manifestos and aims and objects.... the electorate in India cannot yet be said to be fully mature in the political sense and anything that may go to help to develop such maturity should be encouraged within the bounds of practicability. The proposal that an announcer of the All-India Radio would do so apparently made the offer unattractive to the majority of the parties.

The effectiveness of a broadcast largely depends on its contents and on how the presentation is made; at any rate, it is not measured merely by the number of minutes it occupies. Under the electoral system based on simple majority, single ballot, greater significance need perhaps be attached to the number of votes polled.

ELECTION COMMISSION, GOVERNMENT AND SUPREME COURT

You may call me anything you want-instance, lunatic,

Al(satian), mad cap or whatever. You can say that controversy is my middle name. But if I have any name, it is 'fearless'.

This is how chief election commissioner. Tirunellai Narayana Iyer, Seshan or T.N. Seshan voiced his reaction to the barrage of criticism and denuciation directed against him since he issued the controversial August 2, 1993 order in definately postponing all elections in the country.

Shortly after taking over as CEC in December, 1990, he said, "the powers vested in me enable me to act ruthlessly to ensure free and fair election".

He could have carried his complaint against the central government on the question of election commission's powers and pre-rogatives to the supreme court as he eventually did. It is also possible to blam him for not keeping legislative council and Rajya Sabha polls out of the purview of his order since neither of them involve problems of law and order or rigging. The entre, in fact had it coming. It had enough warning but chose to do nothing to avert the impass.

Seshan's clash with the Union Government began in September 1992 when he first raised the issue of disciplinary action against four officials who were assigned to the election commission and were appointed observers in the presidential election in July 1993 year. The Union government asserted that "the election commission has no right to take action against officials and that it could request the President of India or the Governor of the state concerned to take action against officials whose services were availed by the commission".

The supreme court noted that: "The vexed issued had assumed a certain imension from the constitutional point of view touching the plenitude of the commission's power to prescribe what, according to it, was adequate management of law and order situation as well as the question of logistics and actual requirements of the situation. The court has held: "there could also be intrinsic limitations on the part the centre to adequately meet the demand of the commission in this regard with the irreconcilable positions taken by the commission and the government, there should be evolved a mechanism to resolve such differences.

Seshan has made an important point viz. the Election Commission is an autonomous body with a consti-

tutionally guaranteed independent status and that it cannot be treated as a branch of the executive or a sub-ordinate office of the union Home Ministry or Cabinet secretariat. The Supreme Court's suggestion for the creation of a coordinating machinery implies a recognition of this reality.

It was the supreme court's intervention and the dawning of good sense that terminated the deadlock, and in good time too. The court asked the election commission to reconsider its order and indicated that it would adjudicate on the commission's overall powers to conduct free and fair elections in the country under Article 324 of the constitution. The supreme court has ruled that the election commissioner's powers are not inbridled. His fairness and he cannot act arbitrarily. Unchecked power is alien to our system.

The Chief Justice M.N. Vekata Chaliah, while pronouncing the apex court's verdict cautioned that the commission had taken a "serious step" which had the potential of creating a chaotic situation.

While strongly criticising the chief election commissioner for postponing all elections and by-elections to the central and states legislatures until December,

1993, the Congress indicated that it favoured multi-membership of the election commission with a view to obviating the possibility of a similar crisis in future.

It is true that under the constitution the CEC is entrusted with the task of holding elections and that it should have certain powers of demanding and requisitioning the services of government staff.

On October 1, 1993 the President of India promulgated an ordinance converting the one-man Election Commission into a multi-member. Simultaneously the government issued a notification for the appointment of Mr. M.S. Gill and Mr. G.V.K. Krishnamurthy as Election Commissioners.

The law has been amended to provide that the chief election commissioner as well as two election commissioners shall enjoy the same position as judges of the supreme court.

The ordinance provides that the decisions of the election commission 'shall, as far as possible, be unanimous'. But in case of a difference of opinion between the chief election commissioner and the other election commissioners, the matter 'shall be decided according to the opinion of the majority. Article 324 of the consti-

tution provides for an election commission, which may have one or more than one member or commissioners.

The country needs to introspect on the fairness of the electoral system. Seshan is right when he says that the election commission must have disciplinary jurisdiction over officers placed at its disposal for elections.

Pronouncing orders on two petitions filed by the chief election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan and noted journalists Cho Ramaswamy seeking quashing of the presidential ordinance and the notification appointing two new election commissioners as being ultra virus of the constitution. A division bench of the supreme court directed that the chief election commissioner alone would remain in "complete and overall" control of the election commission's work and he is not bound by the views of the election commissioners.

But before the supreme court could proceed further in the matter, the winter session of the parliament passed a bill to replace the Ordinance issued by the President.

Mr. T.N. Seshan, the Chief Election Commissioner had issued a directive that all voters should be issued

identity cards by the end of 1994, failing which he would not hold any elections after January 1, 1995.

The Union Minister Mr. S.B. Chavan convened a conference of Chief Ministers of some states to consider how directive could be implemented.

Seshan rejected the view of the centre and the state governments that it would cost over Rs 3000 crores to issue identity cards. He said the central government "sat over it, shored over it and slumbered over it". Election must be free and fair and they could not be free and fair without identity cards.

In the month of February, the Supreme Court was heaving a petition from the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan challenging the constitutional validity of a law passed by Parliament equating him with two other election commissioners.

Under the scheme of the constitution, the chief election commissioner was not only different from but superior to the Election Commissioners.

Earlier, the court had suggested that the CEC and the ECs should sit together and resolve their differences amicably but Mr. Seshan had failed to act on the advice of the supreme court.

Law Minister, H.R. Bharddwaj has made it clear the government would not accept any recommendation by the CEC for the removal of the ECs. The CEC as Chairman has to preside over all the meetings of the commission, prepare the minutes and convey the decisions taken unanimously or by a majority vote to the public.

But this is an insufficient safeguard. Ultimately, the key to the normal functioning of the Election Commission may again lie with the supreme court.

The finality with which the supreme court has settled the dispute about the equality of status of the Chief Election Commissioner vis-a-vis the other two election commissioners. There is a specific direction of the apex court to all the three members of the commission to "eschew their egos" in the working of the EC.

There are also signs that the election commission, in the changed circumstances, is willing to show respect to the political parties and their role in elections. But the EC should see the wisdom in evolving an institutional framework, so that the model code of conduct and its compliance does not collapse with the disappearance from Nirvachan Sadan of an individual.

DISPUTES REGARDING ELECTIONS:

Any dispute regarding the election of a particular candidate or the manner of holding of any particular election can be challenged only by means of an election petition which is to be submitted to the Election Commission. If a nomination paper is rejected by the Returning officer, there is no provision in the election law by which the aggrieved candidate can move for stay of further progress of the election. He has to wait till the completion of the election to file his election petition in this respect. Similarly, any complaint regarding the actual conduct of an election or about the decision of the Returning Officer at the time of the counting of votes can only be proceeded with by means of an election petition after the completion of the election.

Any person who wants to dispute any election can do so by presenting an election petition mentioning the grounds, on which the election has been called in question, to the Secretary to the Election Commission of India, within a period of forty five days from the date of the declaration of the results of the election. Such a petition can be presented by the candidate who is aggrieved or by any other person who is entitled to vote at that election. Every election petition should

contain a brief statement of the material facts on which the petitioner relies and indicate in detail any malpractices that may have been committed in the conduct of the election either by the parties or by a member of the election staff.

On presentation of such a petition to the Election Commission, the election commission examines the petition. If the commission finds that there is a prima facie case, the commission publishes a copy of the petition in the official gazette and also serves a copy thereof on each of the persons against whom allegations have been made. The election commission then constitutes a Tribunal for the trial of the election petition. The tribunal consists of a single member selected from amongst the District Judges of the state to which the election petition pertains in consultation with the High Court of that state. The petition would then be referred to the Tribunal for trial which is held at such place as the Election Commission may direct.

Every election petition which has been referred to the Election Tribunal is required to be tried in accordance with the procedure prescribed under the Code of Civil Procedure for the Trial of Civil suits. For the purpose of trying an election petition, the election

Tribunal is free to hold any number of sittings at any place in the constituency or outside the constituency as is convenient to the Tribunal or the witnesses who are required to tender evidence before the Tribunal is required to give its own judgement regarding the election petition. The judgement of the election tribunal is final and takes effect as soon as it is pronounced by the tribunal.

WARNING FOR FUTURE:

Veterans are of the opinion that the blow which the CEC delivered to the body politic of the country should both serve as a reminder and a warning to all right-thinking people about the fragility of our nascent democracy. It also provided an opportunity to define the powers and role of the chief election commissioner. The saving grace is the acknowledgement of Parliament's supremacy by Mr. Seshan.

It is true that under the constitution the CEC is entrusted with the task of holding elections and that it should have certain powers of demanding and requisitioning the services of government staff. But it would be unwise to allow him unrestricted authority to pick and choose the officials he wants. He cannot be allowed to

appropriate the authority of the State or Central government by taking over their disciplinary powers with regard to their employees on temporary duty for election work. The CEC must not arrogate this power to himself.

The powers and responsibilities of CEC should be clearly defined and demarcated to avoid recurrence of such situations. The commission should also be converted into a multi-member body. That would help to dissuade future autocrats from arbitrary actions.

The supreme court upheld the stand of the election commission in the matter of overall authority to conduct elections in the country. The court is not in favour of tinkering with the independent authority of the EC, but it has removed the obstacles put in the way of the smooth conclusion of elections already ordered.

An unambiguous declaration about the powers, duties and responsibilities of the Election Commission and the Government in ensuring free and fair elections is certainly overdue. Mr. Seshan declared that there would be no elections until the status and authority of the Election Commission were clarified. The issue does call for an early pronouncement. The provisional

resumption of the electoral process does not warrant another spell of complacency and dithering at the top level.

A constitutional expert rightly expressed the view that the election commission is an integral part of the system of checks and balances to prevent any other organ of government or any non-official from interfering in the conduct of elections. Moreover, all types of extraneous influences and pressures must be eliminated.

Hardly anyone would deny that democracy is not safe when whimsical functionaries are still around and the legal position regarding some vital questions remain nebulous.

LIST OF PERIODICALS SCANNED
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<u>Title</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Periodicity</u>
Alive	Calcutta	Monthly
Amrita Bazar Patrika	Calcutta	Daily
Asian Age	Calcutta	Daily
Avenue Mail	Jamshedpur	Daily
Blitz	N Delhi	Weekly
Civil Services Chrocinall	N Delhi	Monthly
Competition Master	N Delhi	Monthly
Current Topics	N Delhi	Monthly
Democratic World	N Delhi	Quarterly
Eastern Recorder	Assam	Weekly
Economic & Political Weekly	Bombay	Weekly
Economic Times	N Delhi	Daily
Financial Express	N Delhi	Daily
Freedom First		Quarterly
Frontline	Madras	Fortnightly
Hindu	Madras	Daily
Illustrated Weekly of India	Bombay	Fortnightly
Indian Express	N Delhi	Daily
India Today	N Delhi	Fortnightly
Janata	Calcutta	Daily
Knowledge Today (CSR)	N Delhi	Monthly
Link	N Delhi	Weekly
M 'n' M Magazine	N Delhi	Monthly

Mainstream	N Delhi	Weekly
Nation and the World	N Delhi	Monthly
Nation Herald	Lucknow	Daily
Patriot	N Delhi	Daily
Pioneer	Lucknow	Daily
Radiance	N Delhi	Weekly
Radical Humanist	N Delhi	Monthly
Rashtraaya Sahara	N Delhi	
Statesman	N Delhi	Daily
Sunday	Calcutta	Weekly
Telegraph	Calcutta	Daily
Third Concept	N Delhi	Monthly
Times of India	N Delhi	Daily
Weekly	N Delhi	Weekly

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ELECTION COMMISSION, ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, POSTPONMENT, BIHAR

1. TREND SETTER. Telegraph. 13, 243; 1995, Mar, 13; 10.

The chief-election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan can always be trusted to be in the news if he is not busy postponing election in Bihar or driving state administrations up the wall with his enthusiasm for voter Identity Card, he is running after Doordarshan and all India Radio to ban programmes giving poll trend analysis Mr. Seshan's reasons for doing their are clear only to himself. He is not clear what jurisdiction and air. Mr. Seshan aims and their implementation are after reminiscent at a medieval Sultanat at India. Who also had landable goals which went away because of his whims and back at contact with reality.

COMMISSIONER

---, CHIEF ELECTION ~~COMMISSIONER~~, SESHAN (TN), PUNJAB

2. BEING A Governor of Punjab. Link. 33, 50; 1991, Jul, 21;
- 3.

Just 30 hours short of what may have been the end of the distressing uncertainty in Punjab, Chief Election Commissioner TN Seshan announced a postponement of the elections in the states one had been led to believe that the office of the Chief Election Commissioner was non-

partisan, but Seshan's swift decision to deprive the people of the state of the right to voting. Seshan went back on his June 12, 1991 assurances of holding the elections on the scheduled day, without making the governor privy to the decision arrived at. The Governor's office has lost its authority and the Union Government its credibility.

-, -, PUNJAB, ASSAM

3. FACE THE electorate. Economic Times. 31, 47; 1991, Apr, 20; 8.

With the government finally deciding to hold polls in Punjab and Assam, all the states in the country, barring Jammu and Kashmir will be having elections to the Lok Sabha in May 1991 this year. There has been some reluctance on the part of the President of India and the Chief Election Commissioner to endorse a decision to hold election in these two states, but the will of the Chandra Shekhar government has ultimately prevailed. For even in the eventuality that free and fair elections do not take place, once the actual voting takes place, the Election Commission has the responsibility and power to countermand or set aside the verdict.

-, -, RESULTS, MANIPUR

4. LISTEN TO Manipur. Economic Times. 34, 346; 1995, Feb, 24; 8.

It is irrelevant did the Election Commission deem Manipur to be that it allowed the state's result to come out before the Bihar. Orissa put refused similar treatment to Maharashtra or Gujarat. Now Manipur looks better integrated than most people think with India's overall political and cultural ethos.

-, -, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, ISSUE

5. FIND A way out. Indian Express. 63, 61; 1995, Jan, 3; 8.

The election commission's insistence on issue of identity cards to voters before January 15, 1995 as a condition for holding elections in five states - Bihar, Orissa etc. in February 1995 will lead to an unprecedented constitutional crisis. While the identity cards will go along way in curbing the menace of impersonation in voting, they cannot take precedence over the voters' right to exercise their franchise. After all Identity cards are not an end in themselves. They are at best a means to hold free and fair polls. The centre must find a way out of the impasse.

--,--, SATISFACTORY RESULT, MAHARASHTRA

6. ENTHUSIASTIC VOTERS. Indian express. 63, 112; 1995, Feb, 23; 8.

Political parties will have to learn to contend with new phenomenon. The enthusiastic voters. The rival of enthusiasm can be ascribed in past to the election commission voter education campaign and the issuing of identity cards both of which have made more people aware of their right. In some areas in Maharashtra the near universal provision of identity cards has been followed by election day turn outs of 85 percent and more. It is a mistake to suppose that having flexed their muscle in the assembly polls, voters will become apathetic again by 1996.

--, BY-ELECTIONS, RAJYA SABHA, MAHARASHTRA ASSEMBLY

7. VIBHAKAR(Jagdish). Election commission impasse. Competition Refresher. 10, 10; 1993, Oct; 31.

The unprecedented constitutional deadlock arising out of the Chief Election Commissioner T N Seshan's August 2, 1993 order, bringing to a halt all election activity has now been hopefully resolved elections to Rajya Sabha and the declaration of the Maharashtra

Legislative Council election. The election commission has now rescheduled polling in the country for the by-election. The apex court in the land made it virtually obligatory for the chief election commissioner to modify his order and agree to hold all the affected elections and at the same time, in favour of a strong and independent election commission without diluting its authority.

-, CANDIDATES, ELECTION EXPENSES

8. JAIN (LC) and JAIN (Gopal). Inadequacies. Indian express. 63, 61; 1995, Jan, 3; 8.

All praise to Mr. T.N. Seshan for his efforts to ensure correct reporting of election expenses. Note his directive that each candidate must maintain a detailed register of expenses, a register each page of which would be pre-signed by the District Returning officer and kept open for inspection by election officials. The identity card scheme has as many clarities as complications. There are limitations in the power of identity cards to prevent impersonation. The basic requirement is a correct and updated electoral roll, open and accessible. For the panchayats, there has also to be a statutory election officer, who has to revise and verify the rolls. This is a good provision of

the election commission. The CEC can entrust the task to the panchayats or in urban area to nagar palikas to be constituted under the 74th constituting amendment. The CEC must ask them to display the rolls publicity at all times in the panchayat area.

-, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, CONVERSION, MULTI MEMBERS
COMMISSION

- 9.= BUCH (MN). Removing irritants. Hindustan Times. 71, 225; 1995, Sep, 13; 13.

The central government in its wisdom used article 324(2) to convert the single member election commission into a three member commission headed by the chief election commissioner. Though the constitution does not specify this, by the CEC and ECs (conditions of service) Act, parliament has not only equated the chief election commissioner on the election commissioners, but also prescribed that everything in the commission, administrative quasi-judicial or pertaining to elections proper will now be decided by the commission acting unanimously or by a majority decision. This provision of law was challenged by the CEC, but the supreme court upheld the Act and directed the CEC to strictly adhere to it.

---, ELECTORAL REFORMS

10. MOHAN (Surendra). Union government's myopic electoral reforms. Janata. 49, 14; 1994, June, 12; 5.

The chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan can be given the credit for pursuing the Union government to introduce electoral reforms. He had insisted that even if the commission was a multi-member commission. The CEC could not be put at par with other members. Seshan has insisted an identity cards for voters and electronic machine for voting. These two arrangements would certainly add to the government's expenditure, but it would be reasonable to incur it in order to reform or election system. The Iyer Committee has suggested that the commission should be appointed jointly by the Prime Minister, the Chief justice and the leader of the opposition.

---, CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER

11. GOSWAMI (Arbab Ranjan). Floating rights of the vote people. Telegraph. 12, 231; 1995, Mar, 1; 11.

The article mention the election commission will be headed by the chief election commissioner appointed by the President in consultation with the Prime Minister

and the Union cabinet. Article 384 of the constitution rules that a commission under the president the election commission - will organise coordinate and oversee election to all political officers in India. Under section 14 of the Representative of the people Act, the CEC cannot exercise its jurisdiction in a manner that interferes, with the power of the president. It has clearly ruled the CEC subject to judicial review. And though legislation to strengthen the EC is at present similar logic does not apply to the CEC.

---, GENERAL ELECTION, REPORT

12. KASHYAP (Subhash C). Second general election remembered. Financial Express. 17, 45; 1991, Apr, 11; 4.

At the beginning of 1957 it appeared extremely doubtful whether the second general election could be held on time. But the ruling government's leaders and the election commission stood firm in favour of sticking to the schedule. The election commission in its report on the second general election significantly observed that if the first general elections served to teach the vast number of uneducated voters what the vote means, the second general election familiarised them with the exercise thereof with discrimination and understanding.

--, IMPEACHMENT, CONGRESS PARTY, VIEWS

13. CHAKRAVARTY (Nikhil). Revival of dangerous trend: Emasculating office of election commission. Mainstream. 32, 30; 1994, June, 11;9.

Under this article opposition parties demanded impeachment of the chief election commissioner in parliament. The other point of difference is about the appointments of a multi-member election commission. The congress party demanded equal status and power to all the election commissioners and be chosen by the government of the day because the president appoints the election commissioner on the advice of the council of ministers. The present government is trying to emasculate the august office of the election commission to ensure its own longevity in power.

--, SESHAN (TN), APPOINTMENT

14. SARITA RANI. What now? Sunday. 22, 32; 1995, Aug, 6-12; 24.

A set proclaimed defender of the constitution, T.N. Seshan - Chief Election Commissioner had the wind kicked out of him try the Supreme Court. A enemy of politicians, the CEC is now dependent on them to offset him a suitable post. It is a delima to which there is

no easy resolution. During Seshan's absence, the supreme court ordered Bagga to hand over charge to Gill, and the election commissioners waited for Seshan to either cut short in holiday or to phone them. He did neither that, ultimately is the crisis of Seshan. He has begun by pretending that the two election commissioners do not exist. When he went to America, he appointed deputy election commissioner D.S. Bagga a loyal IAS officer who has spent many years working with him, as his replacement.

--,--, ARGUMENT, ASSEMBLY POLLS, BIHAR, ORISSA,
SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT

15. SESHAN RELENTS. Times of India. 158, 15; 1995, Jan, 18; 10.

The supreme court has ensured that Mr. Seshan will not be able to postpone the assembly polls in Bihar and Orissa, two states now ruled by the Janata Dal. Mr. Seshan had climbed down from his earlier stand by extending the deadline for identity cards from January 1 to September 30, 1995. Mr Seshan appears to have been concentrating more on the mechanics of the poll process than on the basic changes required to make elections more representative. He may well find that results than can be achieved through threats.

---, CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION, ELECTION COMMISSIONERS,
GILL (MS), KRISHNAMURTHY (GVG)

16. SWAMI (Praveen). Seshan Vs the rest: The multi-member election commission. Frontline. 10, 22; 1993, Oct 23 - Nov 5; 26.

Describe the multi-member election commission.

Seshan proceeded to assault the creation of a multi-member commission and the appointment of M.S. Gill and G.V.G. Krishnamurthy or election commissioner on October 1, 1993. The chief election commissioner had no intention of allowing him self to be helped. There is no constitutional definition of the relationship between the CEC and the other commissioner. The rift between the government and the election commission has reached a point fraught. With danger. While the dispersion of the CEC is exclusive power addresses short term problem.

---, ELECTION DATES, DECISION, OPPOSE, OPPOSITION PARTIES

17. INDERJIT (Sabina). Opposition questions Seshan's decision on election dates. Times of India. 158, 7; 1995, Jan, 9; 13.

Opposition parties have questioned the wisdom of some of the chief electioncommission Mr. T.N. Seshan's recent decision and action pertaining to the forth coming

assembly elections in five states - Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka etc. - which could end up helping the congress party. The Bhartiya Janata Party has raised the issue with the election commission and asked for the polls be held before the budget. The other decision of the commission which had raised was the advancing of the date of counting in Maharashtra, much before polling takes place in Orissa, Gujarat, Bihar and Arunachal Pradesh. Whether the commission will rethink its decision in of courses of question have only Mr. Seshan can answer.

--,--,--, STATES, POLLS, POSTPONEMENT

18. VENKATESAN (V). Reining in Seshan. Frontline. 12, 3; 1995, Jan 28 - Feb 10; 38.

The commission would not withhold or postpone the electoral process set in motion in six states on the ground that cards were not issued to all voters. Jaya Jaitly argued that the issue of cards should be slowed down because of the order. In any case the CEC can't issue a directive on identity cards for the entire country. Further said that cards were not the only solution to impersonation. But on the other side the court is likely

to consider the substantive question of the CEC's power to issue directives and insist on the issue of identity cards before March.

---, BY-ELECTION, POSTPONEMENT, UTTAR PRADESH, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT, CONTROVERSY

19. PHADNIS (Aditi) and NARAYANAN. For my next trick. Sunday. 21, 23; 1994, June, 5-11; 28.

The article highlights that the supreme court had told the Chief Election Commission that he could not set up elections at will. Seshan has postponed six assembly by election in Uttar Pradesh to September 1994 on the grounds that the state government had misled him on the use of an official aircraft by the chief minister during an election campaign. Seshan has struck terrorism the hearts of those who are traditionally considered powerful. And this is seen as the empowerment of those who are victims of state power.

-, -, -, CANCELLATION, BY-ELECTION, DECISION

20. SURENDRAN (CP). Khainayak or King? Illustrated Weekly of India 113; 1993, Aug, 14-20; 8.

The chief election commissioner, T.N. Seshan, had created a major political crisis by his recent decision to cancel several by-election scheduled to be held in various parts of the country. Seshan is famous for his organce his behind fits of rage superintendence, direction and control of election to be vested in an election commission.

-, -, -, CONSTITUTION, AMENDMENT, VIEWS.

21. RAMCHANDRAN (Raju). Seshan's actions and power. Mainstream. 33, 25; 1995, May, 13; 3.

Analysis that Seshan action would not have fallen withing the scope of the expression misbehaviour as judicially interpreted. On the other side, the article examines that the need urgent amendment to the consti-tuion before Seshan's successor is appointed moving the CEC virtually irremovable can cause danger to democracy as the experience of the past few years has shown.

--,--, CRITICISM, ELECTION REGISTRATION, SINGH (Dinesh),
DISQUALIFICATION

22. RAMAN (R Venkata). Limitation of T.N.Seshan. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 125, 57; 1994, Feb, 18; 8.

Seshan is also aware of the fact that perhaps a case cannot be made out for Dinesh Singh's disqualification since lack of qualification is not a disqualification. Even going by section 22 of Representation of the People Act (RCA) if the electoral registration officer amends, transposes or debts the relevant entry pertaining to Dinesh Singh, his membership in the council of states cannot be terminated under the constitu-^{tion}-/or any other relevant law made these under.

--,--, EFFECT, POLL, SCHEDULE, GUJARAT, ARUNACHAL PRADESH,
BIHAR, ORISSA

23. SESHAN TO blame. Indian Express. 63, 65; 1995, Jan, 7; 8.

The postponement of elections the Orissa by amount a months is the latest in the series of changes erected in the polls schedule by the chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan under the new poll schedule, the voters of Gujarat, Arunachal Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa would be

going to the polls other the Maharashtra result would have came out. This is more so as the EC will be breathing down their necks for not exceeding the expenditure limit. If the elections are in a jam, the CEC cannot escape responsibility.

--,--, ELECTION COMMISSIONER, GILL (MS), CONTROVERSY

24. HANG ME or let me work. India Today. 19, 20; 1994, Oct, 16-31; 115.

It's a year since M.S. Gill was appointed Election Commissioner, supposedly enjoying the status of a supreme court judge. But in reality, M.S. Gill has been the archetypal now here man. Sidelined by Chief Election Commissioner T.N. Seshan and ignored by the central government. Gill speaks frankly for the first time about the controversies surrounding the election commission. He talks about Seshan's authoritarian ways. The central government's failure to check him and calls for a first delineation of rates in the commission.

--,--, ELECTIONS, LOK SABHA, ASSEMBLY, POSTPONEMENT

25. SESHAN'S BOMBHELL and the sequel. Competition Master. 35, 3; 1993, Oct; 206.

Fortunately for the country, the unprecedented

constitutional deadlock created by Mr. T.N. Seshan, the power obsessed chief election commissioner, by an arbitrary order of August 2, 1993 postponing all elections to the Lok Sabha and certain state assemblies, ended nine days later when good sense dawned on him. He modified his order and directed that the elections which had been deferred until December 18 be conducted by September 10, 1993, except in Tamil Nadu. In the case of that state the by-elections to the Ranipet Assembly and the Palani Parliamentary were subject to the deployment of central forces to the satisfaction of the election commission.

--,--,--, ELECTORAL REFORMS, VIEWS

26. PATHAK (Avijit). Social construction of T.N. Seshan. Mainstream. 32, 52; 1994, Nov, 12; 2.

Under this article, author highlighted that every one feels that democracy requires genuine electoral reform, the political parties too have to democratise their functioning, something must be done to resist the growing unimpensation of politics - the way it is corrupted by money, violence and imarility. Seshan is not wrong in his mission. Seshan is indeed a middle class new. When one sees that every politician is somewhat afraid of Seshan and his mission.

27. SESHAN'S APPROACH. Janata. 49, 30; 1994, Oct, 30; 1.

T.N. Seshan, the Chief Election Commissioner has a characteristic approach to various problems of electoral reforms and has a distinctive style to tackle them. The Chief Election Commissioner does not miss any opportunity of utilising his quasi-judicial pronouncement on disputes referred to him in regard to issue like irregularities in electoral processes and conflicting claims for election symbols by rival factions of politics parties. To get rid of impersonation of voting the proposal of the CEC, T.N. Seshan for introducing identity cards to voters is a commendable step.

-.--., EXAMINES, ASSEMBLY POLL, JAMMU and KASHMIR

28. NANPORIA (NJ). Uncertainty in the valley is a decisive answer to Seshan. Asian Age. 2, 89; 1995, May, 16; 12.

In this latest letter to the centre, T.N. Seshan has pointed out that he cannot possibly announce the poll schedule for Jammu and Kashmir without knowing the ground situation and has asked for an unequivocal statement on this point. An intelligence Bureau report says that almost the entire election machinery and manpower, including officers for poll duty have to be

sent from the centre since there is no guarantee of local government officers ensuring a free and fair poll.

--,--, MULTI-MEMBER, PETITION, FILING

29. VENKATESAN (V). Three at par. Frontline. 12, 17; 1995, Aug, 12-25; 122.

Seshan is indeed vacillation between two options: filing a review petition before the supreme court even while continuing the cold war with his colleagues, or resigning. The question is whether a multi-member commission will adversely affect the conditions of service of the chief election commissioner. Since the constitution provides for a multi-member commission, this cannot be construed to be in conflict with the conditions of service of the CEC. Ultimately, the key to the normal functioning of the election commission may again lie with the supreme court.

--,--, OPINION

30. SARKAR (Bidyut). Reading between Seshan's one - liners. Times of India. 158, 49; 1995, Feb, 27; 12.

Mr. Seshan's acts come under political scrutiny review by courts of justice which would not have been

possible if he were to function in a privileged and more with position. The supreme court has also officially rebuked the chief election commissioner for the language he use and his frequent inference in the election process. It in Mr. Seshan's proctivity to see him self as a supra government authority - the election commissions' role into legislate, adjudicate and execution he once said seeking states and power of all three branches which he does not have - that has vitiated many of his acts and pronouncements. The size and complexity of the election process in India in reason enough to build in more safe guards and democratic structures.

31. VENKATESAN (V). Flouting the franchise: T.N. Seshan and the issue of identity cards. Frontline. 12, 2; 1995, Jan, 14-27; 41.

Author examines that with this penchant for electoral reforms, chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan must had by now learnt a hard lesson; it was difficult to build reform at one's will. After repeated announcement that he would not extend the deadline; but ostensibly to give them more time to complete the issue of cards four of the five states. The commission had no remedy for those who may fail to get their cards before the deadline but to lose their franchise.

--,--,--, ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, UTTAR PRADESH, MADHYA PRADESH
HIMACHAL PRADESH, RAJASTHAN

32. SWAMI (Praveen). Another round: Seshan and November polls.
Frontline. 10, 21; 1993, Oct, 9-22; 38.

One September 15, 1993. The chief election commissioner unexpectedly announced that assembly elections in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan government were dismissed after the demolition of Babri Masjid, would be now between November 6 and December 7 in 1993. The national front left alliance argued that the problems of administration security and campaigning, the formation had not been taken into account by the commission the key point in that if elected politicians cannot be trusted with control of the structure of democracy, neither can the bureaucrats the appoint.

--,--,--, BY-ELECTIONS, LOK SABHA

33. EXTENDED SESHAN. Telegraph. 13, 298; 1995, May, 8; 10.

The chief election commission T.N. Seshan had so far struck to this decision of carrying out the nine by-elections to the Lok Sabha on May 27, 1995 inspite of requests of cancellations from most of the major

political parties. But the government's explicit not to the election commission indicating to its wish to hold the general elections in April 1995 leaves Mr. Seshan with a poor option. The cancellation of by polls this time is received as another views of Mr. Seshan that brave general of free and fair elections has only himself to blame.

--,--,--,--, CONSTITUTIONAL DESPOTISM, BIHAR, UTTAR PRADESH

34. SACHAR (Rajindar). T.N. Seshan's constitutional despotism. Indian express. 63, 103; 1995, Feb, 14.

Right from the beginning Mr. Seshan's methods have played havoc. His sudden change of date of elections in Punjab in 1991 and his counter manding of elections in some chosen constituencies in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh were the result of impermissible personal pique and political considerations. Mr. Seshan relented when he gave an undertaking in the supreme court that the elections would not be held up an account of identity cards, but only if an undertaking was given by the state government to complete the process by September 1995. Another grimmick of air Seshan was the threat to the central government to postpone the presentation of the budget. This bluster seeks to destroy the basic structure of the constitution.

---, DIRECTERSHIP

35. SESHAN DICTATE. Hindustan Times. 71, 68; 1995, Mar, 9; 13.

The prompt transfer of Bihar Home Secretary J. L. Aryia and director general of police U.P. Jain following a directive from the election commissin clearly indicate the chief minister in illiginess to go along with the chief election commissioner at least till the state elections are over. If Mr. Seshan can object to the inauguration a railway track near Calcutta near on the grounds that its will influence voters in Bihar. He can go to any extent to stop governmental activities during election. The central government's decision to relax the age limit for the other backward classes (OBCs) in the civil services is according to Mr. Seshan a clear and flagrant violation at the modal of conduct.

---, ELECTION COMMISSIONER, GILL (MS), APPOINTMENT

36. SARITA RANI. Okay let's make up. Sunday. 22, 35; 1995, Aug 27 - Sep 2; 66.

T.N. Seshan tries to be friend his co-commissioners at Nirvachan Sadan (EC). Gill was extremely peeved with the liberty of releasing internal correspondence of the election commission to the press. In fact Seshan got

along famously count on the appointment of two commissioners by the Narsimha Rao government. Meanwhile, the Lok Sabha elections are approaching and polls in Kashmir are still being actively considered. So much depends on Seshan and his way.

and
-,-,-, ELECTION, FREE / FAIR

37. SINHA (SK). Seshan effect. Hindustan Times. 71, 63; 1995, Mar, 4; 13.

It is acknowledged that Mr. T.N. Seshan has made a remarkable contribution toward holding free and fair election. This has restored the people faith in the electoral process. Mr. Seshan held out that election would not be held in Bihar without photo identity cards. The firm attitude of Mr.T.N. Seshan contributed to the state buresucracy shedding much of its sickening security to the ruling politicians. If the electoral process is not completed by March 15 Bihar may be in a spell of president rule like Kashmir or the Punjab in the recent past. Any where president rule a poor substitute for free and fair elections.



---,---,---, POSTPONMENT, BIHAR

38. SESHAN VS Laloo. Indian express. 63, 69; 1995, Jan, 6; 8.

Thought the decision of the election commissioner to postpone the elections in Bihar by a fortnight to facilitate the sales in compliance with the its order as voter's photo-identity cards is welcome. It does not seem to be the end of the matter. However, with the supreme court taking cognizance of the Bihar government's petition challenging chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan's controversial, no identity cards, no elections stance, a judicial solution to the impasse is possible. While the apex court will decided the legal aspects of the issue.

---,---,---, STAFF, CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

39. RAMAKRISHNAN (Venkitesh). Seshan in retreat: the order and its reversal. Frontline. 10, 18; 1993, Aug 28 - Sep 10; 121.

It is imperative that constitutional position of commission particularly in regional to the assistance of necessary staff, is unequivocally and clearly accepted by the government of India. Chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan concluded his controversial August 2, 1993 order that brought all electoral activity

in the country to a grinding halt. Nine days after issuing the order Seshan took steps virtually reversing its operative part. When the Seshan controversy rocked parliament. The central government has committed itself to forming a multi-member election commission. There were many who savvying Seshan's action an opportunity to define in order terms the right and responsibilities of the election commission.

--,--,--, ELECTION SYMBOL

40. SESHAN AGAIN. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 125, 58; 1994, Feb, 19; 8.

Among the three decision taken by the chief election commissioner to reform the electoral procedure, the least controversial is the order amending the election symbols (Reservation and Allotment) order of 1968. The election commission has been invested in the considerable authority by the constitution so that it can function as a supra political body in order to ensure that free and fair election are held. The CEC will be empowered to suspend or derecognise a political party if it violated the model code of conduct or any other directive of the poll panel.

---, LAW & ORDER

41. RAMAKRISHNAN (Venkitesh). Seshan strikes: the CEC's challenge to the system. Frontline. 10, 17; 1993, Aug, 14-27; 4.

The article attempts to discuss the major dramatic challenge thrown by chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan at the country's system of parliamentary democracy and the ordering response of the Narasimha Rao govt. He also maintains that the article 324(6) vests the commission with powers to take action on the law and order. Another hypothesis in circulation is that Seshan in attempting to take on a wead and corrupt centre in the hope of bettering his public image. Both flourises of parliament took Seshan's actions as an affront to parliamentary democracy.

---, NOTIFICATION, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, BIHAR

42. SESHAN'S TRUMP card. Times of India. 158, 2; 1995, Jan, 3; 12.

T.N. Seshan's threat to withhold the notification for election of the Bihar Assembly if the state government failed to meet the January 13, 1995 deadline for supplying photo identity card to all eligible voters.

In the circumstances, the only way out of the mess in for the president to promulgate an ordinance giving effect to the Bill that parliament

--,--,--, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS,
BIHAR, ORISSA

43. INDERJIT (Sabina). Only supreme court can make Seshan climb down. Times of India. 158, 14; 1995, Jan, 17; 13.

The election commissioner's assurance before the supreme courts that elections in Bihar and Orissa could be held without I cards in yet another instance of chief election commission T.N. Seshan's climb down after pushing on issue to the point of confrontation. The supreme court has chastened him repeat at for his behaviour and manner. This is at least one authority that Mr. Seshan respects.

--,--,--,--, MULTI-MEMBER COMMISSION

44. SWAMI (Praveen). Seshan tarded. Frontline. 12, 16; 1995, July 29 - Aug 11; 4.

Nemesis seems to have finally caught up with T.N. Seshan, with the supreme court dismissing his^{petition} challenging the appointment of the two election commissioners. The

July 14, 1995 judgement not only held the commissioners would enjoy equal powers as the CEC. Supreme court observed that two heads are better than one. The CEC also refused to share were with his challenge or to consult them on decisions.

--,--,--, VIDEO, FILM, ELECTION RALLIES, CANDIDATE EXPENSE

45. MITRA (Chandan). Seshan effect: level playing field. Hindustan Times. 71, 59; 1995, Feb, 27; 12.

The Seshan sponsored crack down complete with video filming at election rallies check on the use of vehicle daily monitoring at candidate's expenses has put the fear of God in the contestants heart consequently few candidates dare to spend more than Rs 2 lakh on their election. The curb on muscle power as result of Mr. Seshan hawk eyed observers is also having an impact Mr Seshan is himself an advocate of the non-party individualistic approach. Mr. Seshan's level playing field may facilitate the victory of some hard working sincere and honest grassroots workers it could also assist the politicians at the electoral process.

--,--,--,--, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, ASSEMBLY POLLS,
POSTPONEMENT, BIHAR

46. SESHAN SNAPS. Avenue Mail. 2, 189; 1995, Jan, 5; 4.

The Bihar chief minister Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav seems to have won the first round of battle against the chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan. The CEC has not only extended the date of issuing photo identity cards to voters to Feb 18, 1995 but also postponed the assembly polls to March 5, 7 and 9, 1995. The postponement came shortly before the writ petition challenging the commission's power to put off elections on ground of non-provision of identity cards was to come up for hearing into the supreme court. Mr. Seshan could have very well agreed to the state government's request earlier instead of his rhetorics. The EC will have to be more decisive at this juncture and allowing the state government get away with its lackadaisical approach will not be of any further help

--,--,--,--, DEADLINE, BIHAR

47. SESHAN, FACE facts. Avenue Mail. 2, 196; 1995, June 12; 4.

Before Bihar plunges itself into a quagmire of political uncertainty, the election commission should

wake up to the facts that issuance of photo identity cards to 376 crore voters in the state will not be humanly feasible before the extended deadline of February 28, 1995, even the state government gears up all its machinery to meet the challenge. Opinions differ regarding the powers of the election challenge. Opinions differ regarding the powers of the election commission to withhold polls on March 5, 7 and 9, 1995 in case voters are not furnished with paper photo identity cards. Seshan should emerge, for once, from his mantle of an ideal 324 Chawla, D.D.

--,--, PETITION, SUPREME COURT, DISMISSAL

48. QURESHY (Ahtesham). At last, rule of law in election commission. Hindustan Times. 71, 273; 1995, Oct; 1.

The summary dismissal of Mr. T.N. Seshan's review petition by the supreme court in the case relating to the validity of the multi-member election commission finally marks the end of the autocratic Seshan Raj. There are also signs that the election commission, in the changed circumstances is willing to show respect to the political parties and their role in elections, as partners in political parties and their role in elections, partners in political democracy. The EC should see the

wisdom in evolving an institutional framework, so that the model code of conduct and its compliance does not collapse with the disappearance from Nirvachan Saden of an individual.

--,--, PUBLICITY HOUND

49. JAIN (Minu). Publicity house. Sunday. 21, 7; 1994, Feb, 13-9; 22.

The article attempts to discuss the publicity, a big hit at press conferences and the lecture circuit of chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan is likely to go down in posterity as the most travelled and most written about CEC in Indian history. He is the most high profile CEC in that India has ever law, not only because of the actions he has taken but also because of his public profile.

--,--, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT

50. SHORN SPLENDOR. Telegraph. 14, 55; 1995, Aug, 31; 13.

The option before Mr. Seshan were rather limited one was to file a review petition by a August 12, 1995, deadline challenging the supreme court 1995 judgement. The judgement restricts the super victory power at CEC

over the EC's decision in cases of disagreement. It also make the EC less institutionally independent by ignoring in it statement in electoral reform the apex count bench has provided him in with a legitimate arouse

---,---,---, MULTI-MEMBERS COMMISSION

51. NOT ANY more by confrontation. Hindu. 118, 206; 1995, Aug, 31; 8.

The chief election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan's decision to convene a full meeting of the commission should be regarded as an important first step towards an amicable working of the multi-member body. Mr. Seshan was none too happy with the judgement of the supreme court upholding the act equating the CEC with the two election commissioners to have a combined session where they could discuss important matters concerning the commission. The CEC has no doubt filed a review petition challenging the judgement giving equal status to the two commissioners as that of the CEC. Mr. Krishnamurthy has demanded that Mr. Seshan should withdraw this review petition to establish his bonafides.

---, REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, ELECTORAL CODE
OF CONDUCT, ENFORCEMENT

52. DUBHASI (PR). Purpose of politics. Freedom First. 424;
1995, Jan-March; 9-10.

Thus keeping the nation's fabric intact maintaining the distinction between government and part, maintaining law and order upholding the public interest should be essential elements in the code of conduct of all political parties and also finds its place in the constitution itself. The chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan by enforcing the provision of the constitution and representation of the people's act has made the electoral code of conduct mandatory for all the political parties but a code of conduct must go beyond the conduct of election and should characterise politics. The political process and governance of the country for all time.

53. PLACING CURBS on the election commission. Current Topics.
20, 2; 1994, Feb; 75.

Reduced to essentials, the on-going conflict between the central government and Mr. T.N. Seshan is clash between a chief election officer who takes his responsibility to ensure peaceful, free and fair elections

and to uphold the independence and authority of the institution over which he currently presides with a single minded his wings by placing legal curbs on the election commission. The October 1, 1993 ordinance appointing two election commissioners and requiring the enlarged election commission to take all decisions by consensus, ignoring the unhappy 1989 experience with a multi.member election commission and this obvious intent. Especially when Seshan has declared his resolve to fight to the end any attempt to convert the election commission into a subordinate office of the Union Home Ministry.

---, Vs CHIEF MINISTER, YADAV (Laloo Prasad), VOTERS
IDENTITY CARDS

54. SESHAN VS Laloo. Hindustan Times. 71, 4; 1995, Jan, 4; 13.

With the chief election commissioner refusing to relent on the issue of I-cards and the Bihar Chief Minister is not great hurry to complete the process of issuing these cards confrontation between the two seems inevitable Mr. T.N. Seshan has reiterated that he is left with no option but to put of the polls in the wake of the state government's failure to issue the I-card. The right for the chief election commissioner is

to hold the assembly polls without the identity cards for voters and insist on the cards for the Lok Sabha election in 1996.

---, Vs FINANCE MINISTER, SINGH (Manmohan)

55. BHANDARA (Namita). Seshan Vs Manmohan. Sunday. 21, 11; 1994, Mar, 13-9; 30.

The article attempts to discuss the fighting between the chief election commissioner and the Finance Minister Manmohan Singh had submitted his resignation and on the eve of a parliamentary debate on the joint parliamentary committee (JPC) shot off a letter to the chief electoral officers of all the states asking for the names of those Rajya Sabha MPs against whom there was prima facie evidence that they had lied about their place of residence. In its original list of 20 MPs under investigation.

---, VIEWS

56. SESHANEVE JAYATE. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 125, 54; 1994, Feb, 14; 8.

Whatever one's private opinion of T.N. Seshan he is undoubtedly a mammoth, immensely more than life-size, an alien from another epoch perhaps from the Satyajuga.

Seshan is one who refuse to accept this corrupt system as immutable. All is 'Subham' if it the end Seshan can make it Setyam.

57. NEHRU (Arun). Seshan and the credibility factor. Hindu. 118, 186; 1995, Aug, 7; 8.

The supreme court has given its judgement and the wait for 22 months was well worth it. People who had raised the chief election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan, to unexpected levels of acceptance had a fuller opportunity to observe his almost comic behaviour in almost every thing he did including munching carrots in a commercial advertisement. The bureaucracy, the judiciary and virtually everything to do with governance are subject to public suspicion and cynicism and the voters are constantly looking for heroes in a difficult situation. Mr. Seshan will have much to answer for and in case he decides to enter politics it would be equally interesting to see which part will support him. Mr. Seshan may well find himself in isolation.

---, ASSEMBLY POLLS, BIHAR, PUT OFF

58. SESHAN'S VENDETTA? Hindustan Times. 71, 63; 1995, Mar, 4; 14.

In putting off the Bihar assembly polls by a few days. The chief election commissioners may claim that he has struck a blow for democracy but he has only settled score with chief minister of Bihar, Laloo Prasad Yadav. Mr. Seshan appear to have made his point with. The supreme court dismissing Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav write petition. Any way in rescheduling the elections. The election commission had created more problem rather than solve any. There is a constitution as well as a judiciary to check Mr. Seshan in one stroke he has wiped out. Much of the good work he has done so far.

---, CONDITION and SERVICES, SUPREME COURT JUDGEMENT

59. PARKASHIT (Nirmalenda Bikash). Futile. Seshan. Telegraph. 14, 66; 1995, Sep, 11; 10.

Recently the supreme court upheld the chief election commission and other election commissions (condition and services) Act 1994 is its entire and ruled that the chief election commissioner had over-riding power over his colleges. The office of the CES

is recognised by the constitution under article 324(2) and the president may appoint other election commissioner if necessary from time to time. The five member constitution bench unanimously ruled the CES has no superior power or overriding position in the commission prior to the supreme court's judgement. T.N. Seshan had taken all this decision individually and shown no eagerness to act in union with his callagues the EE is unfortunately no longer a one man affair.

--,--,--,--, CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT BILL

60. SESHAN'S TRIUMPH. Alive. 142; 1994, Aug; 9.

The chief election commissioner T.N. Seshah has thanked God for forcing the central government to drop the constitution Amendment Bill to Clip his wings. But the fact was that it was the comrades of the communist party of India (CPI) who saved him. The Congress-I was confident of getting the constitution amendment Bill passed with a two third majority with the support of non-BJP opposition parties. Seshan fault is that he tries to enforce the law enacted by the politicians.

--,--,--, CORRUPTION

61. PATHAK (Avijit). Politics beyond Seshans activism.
Indian Express. 63, 64; 1995, Jan, 6; 8.

Politics, Mr. T.N. Seshan feels should not allow itself to be corrupted by all that causes blind passion and madness. A constant monitoring of such illegal tactics argues the chief election commissioner, would help to protect the pristine purity of the election process. Mr. Seshan is not entirely wrong in making us aware of the coming danger implicit in such a corrupt practice. His team of special observers and their perpetual gaze may restrain the political manipulations.

--,--,--, ELECTION COMMISSIONERS, EQUAL STATUS,
 PETITION, DISMISSAL

62. ISSUE IS finally settled. Hindu. 118, 214; 1995, Sep, 9; 8.

The dismissal of the petition of Mr. T.N. Seshan chief election commissioner, by the supreme court seeking a review of the apex court's judgement according to equal status to the two election commissioners and the CEC under the enactment of parliament as of "no merit"

lends a touch of finality to the entire issue which has been hanging fire for quite some time. Mr. Seshan totally ignored the presence of two commissioners until the final judgement was delivered a few weeks ago. Mr. Seshan to take his colleagues along with him and act in a spirit of unity.

--,--,--,-- ELECTION, FREE, FAIR, BUDGET, POSTPONEMENT

63. SHADES OF Seshan. Statesman. 129, 5 ; 1995, Jan, 29; 8.

It is not unusual for the look canon in Nirvachan Sadan (EC) to actually hit the bulls eye, this may be one instance where Mr. Seshan has shown his hand. For all the blusters rhetoric to which he has treated a nation generally short on amusement, it was apparent when the chief election commission made his demand that he might have been seeking to help more than the purity of the poll process. The CEC's eccentricities have been treated kindly for he is perceiving as doing more good than harm. The demand for the postponement of the budget was an eye-opener. Its postponement may well be another.

--,--,--,--, RAJYA SABHA

64. SHARMA (Udayan). Seshan's experiments with truth. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 125, 16; 1994, Jan, 3; 8.

The election commission has instructed the chief election officers of the states to stop anyone from getting elected to the Rajya Sabha from the state to which he does not originally belong. The EC can appoint a committee to review the legal position about the overall scenario to the election of Rajya Sabha. Mr. Seshan should understand that any postmortem of election is not the duty of the EC.

--,--,--,--, ELECTION TIMES

65. MR SESHAN's folly. Time of India. 76, 158; 1995, Mar, 30; 12.

It was the election commission's responsibility to ensure that election are held in time. Mr. Seshan would have exposed himself to move changes of politicising, through those opposed to Mr. Yadav would no doubt applaud the CEC. Indeed it was unfortunate that political parties had allowed opportunism to get the better of their judgement where Mr. Seshan was concerned.

---,---, ELECTORAL MAL PRACTICES, MONEY, MUSCLE POWER

66. DHANKHAR (Jasdeep). CBC's code of misconduct. Times of India. 5, 19; 1995, Feb, 12; 16.

There is no denying that Seshan has contained electoral malpractices - the use of money and muscle power. But in his enthusiasm to cleanse the electoral system and to acquire a hero image. Seshan frequently groops across the Laxman-Rekha only to be appropriately driven back by the judiciary. Therein a sharp divergence of views regarding the powers of the chief election commissioner under the articles 324 of the constitution of India. The critied need of the house is a comprehensive piece of legislation with the consenses of all leading political parties which will insulate the electoral process.

---,---, LIQUOR SHOPS, CLOSURE, WEST BENGAL

67. RAY (Tapas). Seshan and a bar: Much and over Frontline. 10, 19; 1993, Sep, 11-24; 128.

In the first week of September 1993, the stage second to have been set for another additions to the

every thing with list of confrontations which mark T.N. Seshan career as chief election commissioner. Seshan had asked West Bengal government to ensure that all bars and liquor shops.

--,--,--,--, MANDATE

68. AKBAR (MJ). Seshanji, Seshanji take it easy policy.
Asian Age. 2, 157; 1995, July, 23; 12.

Mr. Seshan did not need any one else to make him impotent, indeed on to else would have done so. Mr. Seshan discovered that he now needed a larger mandate than are man approval and decided to convert the election commission to a launching paid. Mr. Seshan managed to save his election commission well enough. All he had to do was contest from any constituency in the country and after date it would be to the Indian to make what use of his talent wanted nor could Mr. Seshan bear in election to share the light either as the election commissioner nor at meeting where he would deliver his sermons.

-, -, -, -, MULTI-ELECTION COMMISSIONER

69. GUPTE (PR). Seshan's sense and non-sense. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 125, 32; 1994, Jan, 20; 8.

If the ruling party is to avoid embarrassment it will have to seek peace with Seshan and one of the ways this could be done is to accept the suzerainty of Seshan over the other two election commissioners. When the matters comes up for the hearing again in the supreme court. Despite the image he tries to cultivate of a fearless crusader of what is lawful and right, Seshan is not above considering or even mootng such a quid proquo.

-, -, -, -, MULTI-MEMBER, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT

70. LAST SESHAN? Telegraph 14, 10; 1995, July, 19; 10.

The supreme court judgement approving a multi-member election commission is allowed to put in shadow. The real achievement of Mr. Seshan in improving the election process. Mr. Seshan's strident implementation of the model code of conduct conceals than fact that the election commission code is not statutory. Chief justice A M. Ahmadi has invoked clause 4 of article 324, stating that the conditions of service of the CEC should

not in any be disadvantageously affected during his tenure. The CC's criticism of the CBCs abrasiveness and his propensity to postpone election. However, does not seem much to the point. The present CBC, T.N. Seshan might be, it would not anger well for the state should be decide to resign.

-, -, -, -, POLITICAL AWAKING, ANDHRA PRADESH, KURNOOL

71. BALAGOPAL (K). Seshan in Kurnool. Weekly. 29, 30; 1994, July, 23; 1903.

Indian electoral democracy has undoubted had to a lot of political awakening among the poor and the oppressed, and even a certain amount of empowerment of these classes. From the village surpanch to the MLA, most of the elected representative today are leader of gangs. The liberty to campaign and create a climate of opinion in favour of the opposition candidate in an essential aspect of the electoral democracy and this is where the route and procedures of the election commission are of the little ally against the entrenched social ferror exercised by the armed Landlords. The people of Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh have had election after election forced upon them.

--,--,--,--, POLLS, EXPENSES

72. JAIN (Minu). Seshan is watching. Sunday. 21, 16; 1994, Nov, 20-6; 13.

The election commission is stringent guidelines on poll expenses and expensive list of do's and don'ts, candidates in the four states are nervously counting their money to stay in them the prescribed limits. For the EC has specified expense limits for candidates in each states. According to the EC guidelines, no political party or association or candidates can put up cut-outs, hoardings or posters without the governments clearance. For effective functionary Seshan had appointed central audit officers in each state to keep our eye on the campaigns.

--,--,--,--,--, TRIPURA

73. SESHANING'S THE polls. Eastern Recorder. 1, 14; 1993, Mar, 6-12; 2.

Mr. Seshan may be certain in his mind that by abruptly postponing the assembly election in Tripura three days before the scheduled polling he has saved democracy in that tiny north-eastern state. The CPI(M), which now seems to be so grateful to Mr. Seshan for

putting off the polls was party to a move in parliament to impeach the CEC for his partiality towards the ruling party in the conduct of elections. The Marxists enjoy an advantage whether election is ultimately held.

---, RAILWAY, UNION BUDGET, POSTPONEMENT, BEFORE
ASSEMBLY ELECTION

74. MR. SESHAN again. Statesman. 129, 14; 1995, Jan, 17; 8.

The chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, is over reaching himself again. He would have the government postpone the presentation of railway and general budget of the Union government until after the completion of assembly election in February for fear that they will contain proposals to influence voters in the four states going to be polls. The article 324 merely sets out of powers of the election commission and does not help him to his present controversy. Mr. Seshan must learn to distinguish between the sudden introduction of Urdu news bulletins in Karnataka on the eve of Assembly elections which was clearly designed to influence a section of voters and provision in budget which affects the country as a whole.

---,---,---,---,---, BEFORE POLL

75. NOORANI (AG). Ends and Means-I: Seshan and the budget.
Statesman. 129, 20; 1995, Jan, 23; 8.

January 1995 month too strong orders followed from Seshan in a row. First the order on January 1, telling the central government that in the election commission view, the presentation of the railway or general budget should not be undertaken till the polling is completed on March 11. On January 13, came the second order asking Bihar to postpone the implementation of a law made by the state assembly (Bihar) and asserted to by the president of India. The Jharkhand Area Automoves council Act. The supreme court ruled in 1977 that Article 324 which vested in the EC "the superintendence direction and control of the conduct of all elections is designed to take care of surprise situations. Parliament has made a law on the conduct of elections and the supreme courts ruling constructed it. Mr. Seshan has no business to put his own glass or either.

---, SECULARISM

76. SESHAN NOT above nation's secularism. Blitz. 55, 6; 1995, Feb, 11; 2.

The wrath of the chief election commissioner, T.N. Seshan as we have to doubt it will. Though we must disregard him, Seshan, it needs to be clarified is not above secularism in constricted vision of an electoral misconduct. It has to be reviewed in the broader perspective of rectifying a major wrong and in removing the communal divide that has hitherto been reinforced by this widespread feeling of discrimination.

---, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT, ACCEPTANCE

77. MRtSESHAN amended. Asian Age. 2, 155; 1995, July, 21; 12.

It would be most uncharacteristic Mr. T.N. Seshan not to do something dramatic response to the sharp shub he received from the supreme court if he want to recover his blance he must continue in his chair after accept- in the supreme court decision in the dignity. He must corporate with his fellow commissioners both of whom are hones and competent and prove that his ego is not the only thing with control his affair. Mr. Seshan still has a lot to offer his country.

--,--,--,--, MULTI-MEMBER COMMISSION, CHIEF JUSTICE,
AHMADI (AM)

78. SESHAN SINKS. Blitz. 55, 29; 1995, July, 22; 2.

The unanimous verdict of the five judge constitution bench of the supreme court headed by chief justice A.M. Ahmadi on the presidential notification stipulating that the election commission be a multi-member body in a serve indictment of the style of functioning of chief election commissioner (CEC) T.N. Seshan. Now, the CES has no option but to work in Tandem with the two election commissioners. Krishnamurthy and M.S. Gill or leave the stage with grace.

--,--,--,--, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, BIHAR, ORISSA

79. SAHAY (S). Seshan's score card. Hindustan Times. 71, 25; 1995, Jan, 25; 13.

It would be futile to think in terms of gains and losses from the supreme court in train stay at the election commissioners' order and directive issuance at personal identity cards in relation to the coming election in Bihar and Orissa. Mr. Seshan has developed a vested interest in the purity of the election and Mr. Yadav is going slow about it this is the background

against which the supreme court intervene orders should be judged. The courts sympathies are with the CEC but not with his method or excess to of about his manner, language and grammar.

-, CHIEF MINISTER, YADAV (Laloo Prasad), BIHAR

80. THAKUR (Sankarshai). Tale wags the underdog. Telegraph. 13, 267; 1995, April, 7; 8.

So much of an outside Laloo Prasad Yadav is the mind set of these leaders and the society they represent that any action by institutions of the state like the election commission is immediately heralded as one that would go against him. Thus it was that the congress and the BJP initially saw the EC as an ally - they and Seshan were a out to the outsider.

-, CONDUCT of ELECTIONS, SUPERVISION

81. END OF the road? Economic and Political Weekly. 28, 25; 1993, June, 19; 1263.

Under Article 324 of the constitution the conduct of elections to parliament and state legislatures as well as to the offices of President and Vice-President is vested in the election commission. The EC is charged

with the responsibility to organise and supervise these elections. The suspension of the electoral process in West Bengal has created a predicament for the ruling party.

-, CONFUSION, DIRECTIVE, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, BIHAR

82. VERMA (Nalin). Confusion abounds over I cards. Hindustan Times. 71, 23, 1995, Jan, 23, 13.

While the supreme court has virtually censured the bricks manship at the chief election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan by staying his order on photo I-cards it has given the Laloo Prasad Yadav government in Bihar exactly what it earnestly wanted confusion still prevails in official circle over the use at the photo identity cards which either have already been supplied to the voters or will be supplied to the voters before the assembly polls. The election commission is yet to give its directive on the issue the supreme courts ruling also called confusion among the voters.

-, CONSTITUTION, AMENDMENT, APPROVAL, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT,
VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, DIRECTIVE

83. TRIKHA (NK). Offence to constitution. Indian Express. 63, 65; 1995, Jan, 7; 8.

The imbrollo over photo identity cards for

eligible electors is bad enough. But the way it is sought to be resolved through an obnoxious amendment of the representation of people Act is much worse. While chief election commissioner T.N.Seshan may be over doing his act, the approach of his opponents does great violence to the spirit of the constitution. One of the amendments binds the election commission to seek prior approval of the central government before giving any directive that identity cards be issued to the electors. Article 324 of the constitution and control for the conduct of elections to the central and state legislature in the EC. It is the duty of the EC to hold the elections whenever they are due and not to stop them, except on the soundest of grounds.

—, —, CRISIS, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, BIHAR, VIEWS

84. ALL'S WELL that ends well. Blitz. 55, 1; 1995, Jan, 7; 8.

The constitutional crisis in Bihar has blown over with the compromise worked out at the eleventh hour between chief minister Laloo Prasad Yadav and Chief Election Commission (CEC) T.N. Seshan. Yadav's government has now been given until February 28 to complete its process of issuing the photo identity cards to its 5.5

crore voters and the polling dates have been consequently postponed from February to March. Lawless Bihar will be befitting test case of the CEC's cleansing abilities.

-.-, RESTRUCTURING, FUNCTIONS

85. RESTRUCTURE ELECTION commission. Janata. 48, 1993, Aug, 29; 3.

Some of the recent orders of the election commission regarding sudden postponements of various elections have shaken the government as well as political parties. An atmosphere of uncertainty is built in regard to the powers and jurisdiction of the EC. The Article in its totality deals with the mode of appointment of the Election Commission, its composition, power, functions, independent character of the commission and obligations, on the union and state governments to make available to the election commission or to a regional commissioner such staff as may be necessary for the discharge of functions conferred on the commission by the provisions of the constitution.

-, CORRUPTION, ERADICATION, OPINION

86. SEN (SR). Vote power and lobby power. . Economic and Political Weekly. 29, 33; 1994, Aug, 13; 2138.

The author highlight that it has become absolutely necessary to take a number of measures including a change in the electoral system to curb money and muscle power in election and equally important the role of lobby power including government decisions such measures may be objected to as being unduly. Burden some for the administration. But the situation has today become so serious that mere moral preaching may not be enough. Lobby power back by indirect corruption has thus become now the order of the day.

-, DEMOCRACY, VOTING POWER

87. BAXI (Upendra). Question of democracy: A crisis or an opportunity. Frontline. 10, 17; 1993, Aug, 12-27; 10.

The article high/^{lights} the issues and logis that derive from the constitutional right of citizens to adult suffrage. While criticising both Seshan and those who have pounced on him arizing motivated craziness argues that the agony of political power manifested in the episode will be useful. In the meantime contentious

citizens should celebrate the agony of political power, rather than be partisan can scripts of the political parties and election commission. In the present zodiac of India it is only in the agony of power that the promise of right and justice dwells for the hopeless Indian citizens.

-, DIRECTIVES, ELECTION OFFICERS, TRANSFER, BIHAR

88. LALOO'S LOLLIPOPS. Hindustan Times. 68, 49; 1991, April, 5; 11.

In taking crucial decisions designed solely to influence the electorate, the Bihar government has shown flagrant disregard for established norms and proprieties. It ignored even the directive of the election commission against the promulgation of ordinances on the eve of elections. Mr. Yadav's game plan for political and administrative manipulation of the forthcoming elections is thus obvious. The EC has also rightly pulled up the government for transferring officials on a massive scale. EC stands firm in its resolve to enforce its guideline by making the government retrace its most controversial steps.

-, DEPUTY ELECTION COMMISSIONER, APPOINTMENT, CONTROVERSY

89. CHENOY (Kamal Mitra). Bordering order. Telegraph. 13, 335; 1995, July, 3; 10.

Seshan has decided to go on a monthly leave, but what is very serious is his decision to appoint a secretarial number of the election commission to act as chief election commission in his absence. Since two other election commissioners hold office, Seshan's act in by passing them is clearly unconstitutional. The union government and the supreme court will probably intervene.

-, ELECTION, CANCELLATION, VOTERS IDENTITY CARD,

POLITICAL PARTY, JANATA DAL, BIHAR, ORISSA,

90. JAIN (Minu). Poll time blues. Sunday. 22, 3; 1995, Jan, 15-21; 10.

T.N. Seshan's threat to cancel elections in Bihar and Orissa if I-cards are not issued in time raises neckless in political circles. Janata Dal leaders are angry over the CECs decision to postpone elections in working at the behest of the ruling party. According to the constitution, election should be held every five years - however does it state identity cards are necessary before election are conducted.

-, ELECTIONEERING, CORRUPTION, POLITICAL MAFIA

91. PRAKASAM (KP). Of electioneering, corruption and political mafiosi. Nation and the World. 3, 53; 1993, Dec, 16; 17.

T.N. Seshan is in are upheast mood. The supreme court in its interim judgement has vendicated his stand. It has upheld the supremacy of the chief election commissioner (CEC) over the two newly appointed election commission (EC) in decision making and ruled that the EC, Dr. M.S. Gill and GVC Krishnamoorthy have only an advisory role. Krishnamoorthy is in a Hamlet - like dilemma whether he should resign now or wait for the final verdict of the SC. The EC is helpless in curbing election extravaganes or preventing the unholy influence of money in election. If a candidate wants and pays the required amount, he can organise Lathe charge and stone throwing incidents to add colour to the campaign.

-, ELECTION, MONEY MISUSE, SPEECHES, REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLE ACT, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT

92. NOORANI (AG). Ends and means-II EC must obey the law. Statesman. 129, 21; 1995, Jan, 29; 6.

The representation of a people Act, 1951 defines corrupt practices in section 123 and electoral offences

in section 125 to 136. The supreme court went on to add that election is something which must be conducted fairly. To arrange to spend money on the eve of elections in different constituencies, although for general public good, is, when all is said and done an evil practice, even if it may not be corrupt made in election speeches by members of various political parties aspiring to power and by different candidates aspiring to get elected to legislature bodies concerned was corrupt practices. Judgement on propriety, politicians sense of responsibility and a soundness of policies must be left to the people not to EC and EC must obey the law.

—, —, FAIR, POLL, DECISION, BIHAR

93. FAIR ELECTIONS. Hindustan Times. 71, 70; 1995, Mar, 11, 113.

Except in Bihar and Arunachal Pradesh where election will be held within a few days. The latest round at assembly poll has ended on a satisfactory note. The initiative which the election commissions has taken to ensure free and fair election has paid rich dividends. No chief election commissioner in the past have used his office so effectively as Mr. Seshan has done the election

commission has reviewed the poll arrangement in the Bihar state and it is on the basis of the review that he has given the green signal for the polls. The voter should exercise his right responsibility and without fear.

--, LOK SABHA, ASSEMBLY, DECISION, CENTRE

94. DAUNTING TASK. Financial Express. 17, 47; 1991, Apr, 13; 6.

The centre's decision to hold the Lok Sabha and Assembly polls in the states of Punjab and Assam could only have been taken after a lot of deliberation and after weighting the pros and cons. No wonder, the chief election commissioner, while on a visit to Chandigarh, voiced grave concern over poll violence in the state and promptly received a reprimand from Mr. Chandra Shekhar. The centre has left the decision on the timing of the polls in the three states to the election commission. But, once the centre has taken a decision on the poll itself, there is not much the election commission can do. It has a daunting task but there is no escape from it.

-, ELECTION NOTIFICATION, PUNJAB, ASSAM

95. REASONING ACCEPTED. Financial Express. 17, 60; 1991, Apr, 26; 6.

Though they had earlier voiced serious reservations about the elections being held in Punjab and Assam. The CPI(M), BJP and Congress(I) now accept the reasoning behind the centre's decision. Now that a consensus has emerged among political parties on the poll, the debate over the powers of the election commission has been rendered academic. The chief election commissioner had rightly taken the position that once the notification was issued, he had no powers to stop the election process, other than postponing the poll to a convenient date. The commission can not exercise the powers conferred on the President in regard to issue of election notification.

-, ELECTION OFFICERS, ARRANGEMENTS

96. BISWAS (Prabir). Man of the year. Rashtra Sahara. 1, 9; 1994, Jan; 11.

Seshan is right when he says that the election commission must have disciplinary jurisdiction over officers placed at its disposal for election. The election commission (EC) has the right to ask the centre to provide it with the necessary manpower to

conduct the polls. To keep the ballot boxes in safe custody to arrange for an orderly counting and finally to declare the result. T.N. Seshan has turned out to be a messiah of the common people, who can expect to free and fair election and exercise their democratic power.

-, ELECTION, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, CRISIS, ORISSA, BIHAR

97. CRISIS ADVERTED. Hindustan Times. 71, 19; 1995, Jan, 19; 13.

In staying the election commissions order threatening not to hold election in Orissa and Bihar in the absence of photo identity cards to all the eligible voters. The supreme court has improved upon the undertaking given by the chief election commissioners before the court. The talking was that the commissions would not pull off the polls in the two states if the state governments gave an assurance that the identity card would be issued by September 30, 1995. In insisting on I-cards Mr. Seshan has good intentions but the imperious manner in which he dealt in the state governments did create problem. Though under article 324, the commissions taken into conduct free and fair election neither the constitution nor the representation of the people Act

provides him unlimited powers voters with I-cards will be feather in the capital of Indian democracy.

-.-. BY-ELECTIONS, POSTPONEMENT

98. NEW THREAT to democracy. Competition Master. 35, 2; 1993, Sep; 117.

Yet another crisis has gripped the country, this time it is a sequel to arbitrary and whimsical order of an arrogant and power obsessed bureacrat, chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan. By a sudden and unprecedented decision on April 2, 1993 he postponed all elections and by-elections to the central and state legislatures until December 1993. The tussle is between the election commission and the central government both of which are creatures of the constitution. However, the provision in the constitution for setting up a multi-member election commission is likely to be made use of at this juncture.

-. ELECTIONS DATE, LOK SABHA, ASSEMBLY ELECTION

99. EARLY ELECTIONS. Hindustan Times. 71, 272; 1995, Sept, 30; 13.

The term of the Tenth Lok Sabha expires on July 8, 1996 next year but this does not mean that the general elections need not be held before June, 1996. At the all-

party meeting convened on September 28, 1995 by the election commission. The main opposition parties expressed the view that the polls should be completed in March 1996 whereas the congress favoured the elections during the second half of April 1996. The EC should also accept the suggestion that elections to six state assemblies should be held simultaneously with the Lok Sabha polls. It is for the commission to ensure that the elections are fair and the electorate and political parties are subjected to minimum inconvenience.

-, -, PUNJAB, ASSAM, CONTROVERSY

100. BHAMBHRI (CP). Turmoil all the way. Financial Express. 17, 62; 1991, Apr, 28; 7.

The announcement of the government of India to hold the Lok Sabha and the state assembly elections in the troubled states of Punjab and Assam has evolved. The Chandra Shakhra government, the President of India and the election commission had serious differences of opinion on the issue of elections in Punjab and Assam. Within a few hours of the announcements of the dates, the chief election commissioner received a letter from the Home Secretary to the Government of India that May 20 and May 23, 1991 for Punjab and Assam are not

suitable for the holding of elections and there may be held after elections are over in the other states of India. They could resolve their difference on elections after hectic consultations.

-, ELECTIONS, FREE and FAIR, PROMISE

101. MITRA (Ashok). Supreme benefactor. Telegraph. 14, 20; 1995, July, 26; 10.

Restraining the chief election commission is just one of the many trails. The judiciary itself has to undergo ACEC, acting within the narrow ambit of article 324 of the constitution can try to ensure that elections, the fulcrum of the democratic experiment, are fairly and freely conducted. The verdict handed down by the supreme court of the mode and manners an election commission ought to conform to is a gaint stride forward which should help to redeem partly the glory once associated with the role of the judiciary.

-, -, MALPRACTICES

102. EARNING THE future. Statesman. 129, 45; 1995, Feb, 23; 8.

One paradox of democracy is an under developed country is that most of the time one is dealing with a desperately poor electorate. The Prime Minister, a

serious man, has called a conference of chief ministers to do something about competitive populism as an election strategy. One wonders why Mr. T.N. Seshan has not thought of this; it should be categorized as a malpractice.

--, POSTPONEMENT, BIHAR

103. CENTRAL RULE round the coher. Avenue Mail. 2, 262; 1995, Mar, 24; 4.

The election commission postponed election in Bihar for the fourth time in three weeks slicing out the large Tirhut division in the north from its original schedule and fixing March 28, 1995 as the re-polling day. Bihar no usual is the unwilling pawn in the game of political chess and clash of titanic egos, and the fact the constitution of ours is just a mere putty in the hands of the CEC is being again brought to fore by his impulsive mandates.

-, ELECTORAL MALPRACTICES, ERADICATION

104. CURBING MONEY power in polls. Competition Master. 33, 10; 1992, May; 686.

Money and muscle power unfortunately play a vital role in elections in India. In fact, the numerous electoral malpractices are ugly taints on Indian democracy

and account for debasement of our political life. In March 1992 the election commission made new proposals for poll reforms. Some of these are discussed in this feature.

-, ELECTORAL REFORM

105. NEED FOR electoral reform. Third Concept. 7, 77; 1993, July; 5.

Need of the hour is to revamp our electoral system. It may be amended in away that the expenditure on campaign etc. will be borne by the government for all candidates. Religious card players, protagonists of regionalism and casteism should be debarred from contesting elections. On the other hand, harvest, competent, patriotic social persons should be encouraged to contest.

106. RAHMAN (M). Benting a ret . India Today. 19, 13; 1994, July, 15; 54.

Author highlights that fifty five percent of people in cities and 44 percent in rural areas believed chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan in doing a good job. The poll also shows a large degree of support on the index issue of electoral reforms. With the government

forced to back track in parliament over its bid to curtail Seshans' authority. The next round could be fought in the supreme court. Government is trying to do the opposite. But a majority feel that reforms are necessary and can be achieved.

-, ELECTORAL REFORM BILL

107. GROWING WATCH DOG. Alive. 141; 1994, July; 11.

Every one knowsthat the laws regarding election are being violated with impunity. Therefore, the electoral reforms bill can only remove some archaic absurdities in the present law. The supreme court sunbbed newly appointed two other members equal to Seshan. The SC said, the chief election commissioner is supreme. The CEC can only enforce laws, not dharma. Seshan could have served the cause of democracy better.

-, -, CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER, POWER, ANALYSIS

108. LIMAYE (Madhu). Bills on electoral reforms and election commission: Analysing actions of government and Seshan. Mainstream. 32, 31; 1994, June, 18; 7.

This articles written on bills relating to the election commission and electoral reforms bring out the

role of the union government and T.N. Seshan in the whole affair. A special session of parliament had been summoned by the president to meet on June 13, 1994 to consider the two bills on electoral reforms and the election commission. There is objectionable clause regarding the issue approved of the centre on the issue of identity cards and Seshan ignored two important elements involved in his identity cards proposal. Every authority has limited powers and that he is not above the

--, INTRODUCTION

109. SANKARAN (TS). Electoral reforms: A chance and an opportunity. Weekly. 29, 27; 1994, July 2; 1635.

The government has promised to reintroduce the two bills on electoral reforms in the forth coming monsoon session - one to amend the constitution of India and the other. To amend the representation of people Act 1950 and Representation of people Act 1951. While this may well be an occasion for parliamentary pugilistics, the issues that these bills raise are serious to be left to political parties alone. The first of the amendments provides for the election commission to direct the issue of identity card to electors in an

constituency or part as may be notified. The second important amendment related to qualification for being elected as a member of the Rajya Sabha.

-, -, 1994

110. GEORGE (Jose). Election Reform Bills, 1994 tale of another betrayal. Radical Humanist. 58, 7; 1994, Oct; 45.

A special session of parliament was convened during 13-15 June 1994. The purpose was to consider two electoral reform bills: (i) the Constitution (Eighty-third Amendment) Bill (CA BILL), pertaining to a multi-member Election Commission, and (ii) the Representation of the People Act (Amendment) Bill, 1994 (RPA BILL). The actual intention of the Congress (I) in introducing the CA Bill was to curb and restrict the Power of Mr. T.N. Seshan the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC). In this context one cannot deny that CEC, T.N. Seshan has been successfully depicted as an effective crusader for electoral propriety and has attracted the imagination of large number of middle class and intelligentsia. Suggestion to give similar status to CEC and other commission members was also a point of opposition.

-, ELECTORAL REFORM, DISCUSSION

11. SESHAN'S CRUSADE. Civil Services Chronicle. 5,9; 1995, Mar; 9.

This article discusses in depth the various aspects of electoral reform together with a complete background of the institution of the election commission. Chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan has unleashed a series of reforms intended to cleanse the electoral system of the various malpractices plaguing it. In the process he has met with stiff resistance from various quarters and yet managed to create an impact.

-, ELECTORAL ROLLS, IDENTITY CARDS, OFFICERS, TRANSFER, RESTRICTION, HIGH COURT, DECISION, MADRAS

112. ELECTION COMMISSION and government officials. Hindu. 118, 103; 1995, May, 2; 8.

The Madras high court's decision to strike down two circulars of the election commission to the extent they imposed a ban and restriction on the transfer and posting of officers and staff involved in the work of preparation of electoral rolls and the issue of the photo identity cards should come as a relief to the state government. But what went wrong was the insistence of the chief election commissioner that he should have

the final word on the choice of persons especially the chief electoral officers who usually are senior administrative officials in the states. While Mr. Seshan deserved to succeed in his efforts to clean up the electoral system, the election commission can not issue orders violative of the law and the constitutional scheme of things.

--, REVISION, CONTROVERSY, ASSAM

113. ELECTORAL CLEANSING. Economic and Political Weekly. 28, 23; 1993, June, 5; 1129.

Yet another controversy is building up in Assam over the special revised instruction for revision of electoral rolls recently issued by the election commission, directing on intensive to January 1, 1993 as the qualifying date for inclusion. The battle between the EC and the Assam government that began on August 21, 1992, when the initial guideline were issued, the Assam government appearsto have secured the unexpected support of several tribal organisation.

-, EXPENDITURE AUDIT, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, MODEL

CODE of CONDUCT, INTRODUCTION

114. CLEANING THE election process with a gian broom. General Knowledge Today. 4, 38; 1995, Feb; 8.

Some of the most landable steps taken by the election commission under Mr. Seshan include the introduction of expenditure audit scheme which regulates the expenses incurred during campaigning by candidates and the issuing of voter's I-cards. But the most ambitious initiation that he has undertaken, is the training of the model code of conduct to be observed by every party and every candidate.

-, GOVERNMENT , MISUSE

115. INDERJIT. Fair poll and official planes. Economic Times. 31, 50; 1991, Apr, 23; 7.

One aspect of free and fair elections has not received the attention it merits. The BJP leader Mr. L.K. Advani, then strongly protested to the chief election commissioner, Mr. S.L. Shakhder, against the gross misuse of the government machinery for electoral ends at the level of the Prime Minister. The CEC has again ruled that the Prime Minister alone can use official aircraft. The poll should not only be fair. It must also be seem to be

fair. The chief election commissioner, Mr. Seshan, who seems keen to ensure a free and fair poll, can still set up a new and healthy convention. He has the power to do so.

-, LAW and ORDER, SITUATION, BIHAR

116. LATER PERFECT. Telegraph. 13, 236; 1995, Mar, 6; 8.

The chief election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan rescheduled the polls in Bihar because the law and order situation in the state does not guarantee a free and fair election. Successive election testing to the use of terror durings polls. It was inevitable that a crusader like Mr. Seshan. Committed to eradicating abuses in theelectoral process would take steps to change the situation there. It hasben apremise at Mr. Seshan poul schedule that result at one state should not influence the election in the another state. His pramount duty as CES is to guarantee that citizen can caste their ballots without hindrance and fear. He has not pat his ago before democracy.

-, -, -, -, -, CRITICISM

117. UNHEALTHY PRECEDENT. Hindustan Times. 71, 77; 1995, Mar, 19; 11.

Thank largely to Mr. T.N. Seshan and Mr. Laloo

Prasad Yadav peculiar style of governing the state Bihar has been made to meander towards a new legislative assembly without regard to voter sentiments and constitutional propriety. The law and order situation in Bihar is not ideal for holding a peaceful and fair election. The centre has done well toward at the temptation to impose president rule which could have been used by the chief election commissioner to defer the poll for months. To single out Bihar for special treatment is at once unfair to its people and harmful to the electoral system.

-, LEGISLATION, MULTI-MEMBER

118. LEGISLATIVE ADHOCISM foiled. Janata. 49, 16; 1994, June, 26; 1.

The recent fiasco about the constitution bill for electoral reforms is a glaring example of legislative adhocism ignoring the need to have full scrutiny of the bill and a broad consensus among the parties in parliament. The question of multi-member election commission and its jurisdiction and powers was not considered on its intrinsic merits. T.N. Seshan, the present chief election commissioner, became the focal point for examining the issue. The original electoral reforms bill framed by the Union government had refused to go into the most

pivotal issue as to who appoints the EC. It is necessary to make a basic change in the appointing authority for the EC.

**-, LOK SABHA, BY-ELECTION, CANCELLATION, WASTEFUL
EXPENDITURE**

119. GANESAN (K). The CEC's action. Hindu. 118, 114; 1995, Mar, 15; 8.

The chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, has given are more example of his behaviour in regard to the cancellation of the recently announced nine Lok Sabha bye-elections. The previous chief election commissioners chose to ascertain the view of political parties and the central and state governments about the conduct of election before taking a decision. Because sitting in New Delhi, the election commissioner will not be in a position to know the condition prevailing in all states. Under section 14, the CEC has the ultimate choice of holding the next Lok Sabha election in February 1996 without the government's intervention. There is an urgent need for a financial commissioner committee to examine the huge and wasteful election expenditure incurred through Mr. Seshan's actions.

-, MINI GENERAL ELECTION, REVIEW

120. MINI GENERAL elections, 1993: A review. Nation and the World. 3, 58; 1994, Mar, 1; 16.

No analysis will be complete without commending the role of the chief election commissioner in holding this mini general election in an exemplary manner. He braved the onslaught and succeeded via the supreme court in maintaining the objectivity and efficiency of the mainstay of our electoral system in the election commission. He plugged various loopholes in the system and gingered up the official machinery down the line to ensure free and fair elections. In fact, the orders of the EC, earned the nickname of 'Seshanadesh' at the hands of the lowest of the official functionaries in the election process.

121. MINI GENERAL elections, 1993: A review. Nation and the World. 3, 58; 1994, Feb, 16; 35.

The unilateral announcement of September '93 by the election commission of India for election to the five states Assemblies of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi set the ball rolling. It goes to the credit of the Chief election commissioner to have brushed aside the pressure from the highest quarters for postponing the

elections. The EC finally issued notifications asking nearly seventeen crore voters of these five states to elect their representatives for their state Assemblies.

-, MODEL CODE of CONDUCT, IMPLEMENTATION, CHARGE,
CHIEF MINISTER, MAHARASHTRA

122. BENDING THE frame. Statesman. 129, 41; 1995, Feb, 18; 8.

The election commission are justifiably outraged at the reported threats from chief minister of Maharashtra and one of his cabinet colleagues to take action against officials who according to them, have committed excess in implementing the commission's model code of conduct. Mr. Seshan has indirect, though sound, assurance of how well the model code is working; if a careful and reluctant politician like Mr. Sharad Pawar has lost his cool bully for the chief election commissioner have noticed that in the run-up to the election camp in, Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav has created three new revenue districts, 12 districts, 44 sub-division and 74 development blocks. He has appointed 1,640 police sub-inspectors in July/August 1994, against the average annual recruitment of 80/120. The election commissioner are indulging in the language of under statement; they call it disconcerting violations.

--, POLITICAL PARTIES, GUIDANCE, BADAL (Prakash Singh)

123. AN UNTENABLE move. Hindu. 118, 122; 1995, May, 24; 8.

The notice issued by the election commission of India to the President of the Indian National Congress, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, under the election symbols (Reservation and allotment) order, 1969 makes strange reading and gives the unmistakable impression that it is over reaching itself. Mr. Prakash Singh Badal has written to the chief election commissioner that the ruling party had been breaching the model code of conduct for the guidance of political parties and candidates and suitable corrective action should be taken the election commission has now issued a show cause notice to the president of the congress (I) to give an explanation in answer to the charges levelled against his party. It is doubtful if the show cause notice now issued by the EC would stand judicial scrutiny as had happened in several cases earlier and it does not good to the democratic polity of the commission behaves in an arbitrary manner.

--, VIEWS, CHIEF MINISTER, PAWAR (Sharad), MAHARASHTRA

124. RIGHT DENIED. Times of India. 158, 42; 1995, Feb, 18; 12.

Instead of threatening remedial action against the

the Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, for his remark on the over enthusiasm of some officials in implementing the model code of conduct during the 1995 state election, Mr. T.N. Seshan would do well to explain the deplorable performance of the election commission in respect of the citizens' right to vote in Bombay. While the photo Identity Cards were issued on the basis of 1994 electoral rolls.

-, MULTI-MEMBER, AMENDMENT, FUNCTION

125. JAGMOHAN. Appointment of members. Hindustan Times. 1995, Aug, 3; 11.

With the recent supreme court judgement upholding the validity of the chief election commissioner and other election commissioner amendment ordinance 1993, which became an act on January 4, 1994. The controversy about the constitution of the multi member election commission and the manner of its functioning has been settled. The issue became hot when the president created two more posts of election commissioners. The author examines other aspect of appointment of member in this article.

---, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, CONTROVERSY

126. RIZVI (Syed Iqbal Hadi). Constitution betrayed? Hindustan Times. 71, 262; 1995, Sep, 20; 13.

Critical observes may find the recent decision of the supreme court, rejecting the review a serious examination. Originally, the constitution makers perceived the structure of a single-member election commission. By endorsing the government's amendment which declared the EC to be a multi-member body, the supreme court arrived at a disputable decision. The petitioner's submission, the chief election commissioner, was against multi-member order of the government. The CEC came out with the clarification that he was simply telling law to the politicians; he was not chasing them. The howable bench of the supreme court did not grant him the concession, which he rightly deserved of its open mindedness.

---, CONFLICT, SESHAN Vs CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

127. NOORANI (AG). Lover's quarrel: CEC and the government. Frontline. 10, 19; 1993, Sp, 11-24; 88.

Congress (I) spokesman V.N. Gadgil's emphatic rejection on August 13, 1993 of the proposal for a multi-member election commission (EC) reveals a lot

more than opportunism. There was no need for such a boy because the constitutional crisis arising out of chief election commissioner (CEC) T.N. Seshan August 2, 1993 order, postponing all election till December 1993 had subsided. The fact that Article 324(2) of the constitution mandates a multi-member commission is ignored. Immediately after Seshan's order of August 2, 1993 congressman discovered a new the virtues of a multi member election commission (EC). The EC's power into seek and obtain his staff from the central government and its dissipating jurisdiction over that staff. But the central government denied the EC's powers completely and perversely.

--,--,--,--, RULING, SUPREME COURT

128. BATTLE BEYOND the hustings. Economic and Political Weekly. 28, 46; 1993, Nov, 13-20; 2488.

The supreme court ruling of November 15, 1993 upholding the right of the chief election commissioner to be overall incharge of the election commission not likely to resolve the running conflict between the central government and the election commission, not least because the court is yet to pronounce its final verdict on the October 1, 1993, ordinance which appointing Mr. Gill

and GVG Krishnamurthy as Election Commissioner, had turned the commission into a multi-member body. The ordinance appointing Krishnamurthy and Gill not solve the EC tangle.

--, CONSTITUTION, JUDGEMENT

129. FLAG OF truce. Hindustan Times. 242, 1995, Aug, 31; 13.

The spirit of camaraderic evident at their meeting has raised the hope that working in coordination they will ensure the smooth functioning on the commission. But Seshan is still to establishing his supremacy in the commission for he would not have filed a petition in the apex court seeking a review of its judgement upholding the constitution of a multi member election commission.

--, DEVELOPMENT

130. WELCOME DEVELOPMENT. National Herald. 26, 172; 1995, Aug, 31; 4.

The editorial highlights the good move regarding the multi-member body to the election commission. When the chief election commissioner, T.N. Seshan and his two colleagues Mr. M.S.Gill and Mr. G.V.G. Krishnamurthy met for the first time. Not only this problems may well crop up in future too regarding the functioning of the three member commission.

-, -, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT

131. FLAG OF truce. Hindustan Times. 71, 243; 1995, Sep, 1; 13.

Giving the benefit of the doubt to the chief election commissioner, T.N. Seshan and his colleagues Mr. M.S. Gill and Mr. G.V.G. Krishnamurthy, it can be said that the three musketeers of the commission have buried the hatchet. Mr. Seshan seems to be still hopeful of establishing his supremacy in the commission for he would not have filed a petitioning the apex court seeking a review of its judgement upholding the constitution of a multi-members election commission. It is hoped that when they meet, there will be more indications of the commission working as a well knit team.

-, -, EQUAL POWER STATUS, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT

132. SC'S VERDICT on multi-member EC. Radiance. 30, 36; 1995, 30 July - 5 Aug; 8.

The supreme court of India had, in a significant judgement of July 14, 1995, new as intravires the appointment of a multi-member election commission with equal powers status, and Authority to each of the commissioner. Dismisses the write petition T.N. Seshan challenging the central governments ordinance of October 1, 1993 (now an Act) the constitution bench comprised the

chief justice Mr. A.M. Ahmadi, Mr. Justice J.S. Verma and etc.

--, SUPREME COURT, VERDICT, OPINION

133. KHUSHWANT SINGH. EC does it and SC did it. Telegraph. 14, 18; 1995, July, 24; 11.

No sooner the supreme court gave its verdict in favour of a triumvirate of election commissioners, every paper was gloating over T.N. Seshan's discomfort. Notwithstanding the supreme courts' judgement that Khushwant Singh was convinced that one election commissioner would be far more effective than three with equal powers. Our country needs more Seshan to cleanse its fouled political environment.

--, UNION GOVERNMENT, OPINION

134. SURENDRA MOHAN. Government's myopic electoral reforms. Mainstream. 32, 27; 1994, May, 21; 3.

The author analysis about the multi-member commission. On the other hand, the chief election commissioner could not be put on a fair with other members. Theireby, a public opinion has been built on this issue. The union government shown upon doing

every thing possible to compromise the independence of the commission. The Iyer committee has suggested that the commissioner should be appointed jointly by the Prime Minister, the Chief Justice and the leader of the opposition.

-, NOTIFICATION, DISTRIBUTION, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS,
BIHAR

135. SENGUPTA (Uttam). Provoking Seshan is only party of Laloo Prasad: Poly. Times of India. 158, 13; 1995, Jan, 16; 11.

Mr. Laloo Prasad would like nothing better than a dismissal of his government. After all, the election commission notified in August 1993 that I-cards would be required in all assembly constituencies in the Bihar state election. EC has circulated another notification in December 1993, fixing November 1994 as the deadline for distribution of the I-cards. The Bihar government began negotiations with different companies in October, 1994, took almost two months to choose the electronic corporation of Punjab Ltd., and began photo graphing voters only in December 1994.

-, POLITICAL PARTIES, DISQUALIFICATION, MODEL CODE OF
CONDUCT

136. CONDUCTOR'S BATON. Telegraph. 12, 215; 1994, Feb. 15; 8.

When Mr. T.N. Seshan first asked the various political parties to give him the authority to derecognise them if they infringed on the model code of conduct. It was predictable they would refuse. Mr. Seshan attempted to vest the executive authority in his own office. T.N. Seshan is probably a greater fear among Indian politicians than the code itself.

-, -, -, SIX YEAR

137. SESHAN'S WARNING. Link. 33, 35; 1991, Apr. 7; 3.

In the morally flacid ambience of Indian politics, it was heartening to see Chief Election Commissioner T.N. Seshan stiffening his vertebra to caution political parties and their candidates from inflaming caste, communal or religious passions as a punting device at the polls. Quoting from the representating of the people act and the Indian penal code, he held out the threat of a six-year disqualification, for candidates and derecognition of a political party should either be seen indulging in division propaganda. Indeed, the representation of the people Act was clear, he said, on the repre-

hensible practice of appealing to caste and religion during election campaign.

-. -, REGISTRATION, DISQUALIFICATION, MISUSE MONEY POWER

138. BUCH (MN). When vote and verdict are polls apart.

Telegraph. 12, 174; 1994, Jan, 4; 10.

If elections are to be made truly representative, the use of money as a means of governing votes has to be reduced. Political parties are registered and recognised by the Election Commission under section 29(A) of the RPA. There should be an annual balance sheet, duly audited by a chartered accountant and made available for public inspection. The EC should prescribe the number of vehicles a candidate may use. Candidates are often accused of bribing voters, largely through distribution of clothing, liquor and other consumer items. If found guilty, the candidate and his party should stand disqualified.

-. -, POLL EXPENDITURE, CONTROL

139. STUMBLING BLOCK. Avenue Mail. 2, 263; 1995, Mar, 25; 4.

The constant rescheduling of Bihar assembly elections has decidedly become a sure point for the people as well as

the politicians. With the poll date being consultantly extended the expenditure is also rising quite contrary to the chief election commissioner's desire to keep it under control. The CEC of course, has reasons to extend the election dates due to various reasons. The major reason always put forth by the CEC is that condition is not conducive for holding free and fair polls. The CEC had no hesitation in extending the dates once again.

-, POLL, EXPENSES, AUDIT

140. JOSHI (Charu Lata). On the audit trail. India Today. 19, 23; 1994, Dec, 1-15; 91.

The author expresses the view that election commissioner T.N. Seshan's latest foot soldiers. The expenditure observers have been cracking down on free spending campaigners. It's another step towards fairer contests. But there were now loopholes too. The election commission's bid to trim poll expenses bears fruit. Seshan's order has made candidates wary of over spending. If proved guilty, it will result in the candidates disqualification. Karnataka has 116 observers to check expenses and ensure that the candidates do not exceed the prescribed Rs 1.35 lakh limit.

--, FREE, FAIR, VIOLATION, BIHAR

141. BIHAR POLL scene. Hindustan Times. 71, 53; 1995, Feb, 22; 13.

With the poll scene is Bihar getting increasing initiated. The election commission has a Herculeam task in conducting free and fair election in the state. When prepoll violence as already claimed several live it can be imagined. How many more person will die during the next fortnight. Some of the action which the LalooPrasad government has taken is recent weeks like the transfer of certian official can be quotationed by the election commission. No wonder. Bihar is the most difficult state which the commission has to tackle in conducting election.

--, KASHMIR

142. POLL PROSPECTS IN Kashmir. Hindu. 118, 127; 1995, Mar, 30; 8.

The visit of the chief election commissioner Mr. T.N. Seshan, to Kashmir to assess the situation in the state and find out for himself whether the conditions are propitions for the holding of election in a positive development and indicates the keenness of the government to go ahead with its poll proposal notwithstanding some

ugly developments including the burning down of holy shrine in Charare-Sharif. The CEC must understand the politics if election in the troubled state of Kashmir and come to the right conclusion.

-, -, PROCESS, VIEWS

143. RAY (Nitya Nand). From villian to hero. Amrita Bazar Patrika. 126, 81; 1994, Mar, 15; 9.

There is little doubt that many of the electoral reforms suggested by Seshan are indeed bold and innovative and could lead to a long overdue revamp of the poll process. On January 15, 1995 an election commission directive ordered all political parties and candidate involved in the November 1994 assembly election to clear the walls and building defaced with posters. Slogans and symbols during electioneering and add a fresh coat of white wash at their own expense.

-, POLLS DATES, EXTENSION, GUJARAT, ARUNACHAL PRADESH, BIHAR

144. POLLS AS personal when. Hindustan Times. 71, 6; 1995, Jan, 6; 13.

Mr. T.N. Seshan is so quick is taking decisions that what he decides today. He can easily under tomorrow.

The election commission has modified the poll dates for Gujarat, Arunachal Pradesh and Bihar. It has turned down the Maharashtra governments request for an extension at the deadline for distributing I-cards and postponement at the election by a few days. Not only that the defer counting voters has been advanced from March 4 to February 15, 1995. One of the other contribution by Mr. Seshan to the electoral process in the a long gap between voting and the contributive of votes.

---,---, OFFICERS, CONTROL DUTIES, GOVERNMENT

145. SUBVERTING PARLIAMENTARY democracy. Mainstream. 31, 39; 1993, Aug, 7; 1.

This aditorial highlights the Seshan's decision that affected by-elections for there Lok Sabha constituencies nine Rajya Sabha seats 14 state Assembly constituencies and two legislative council seats. Seshan has made it abundantly clear that the election commissions will not held any election in future till the union government conceded that under article 324(6) of the constitution the commission could control the civil and police officers deployed for electoral duties duties in a particular state.

--, FREE, FAIR

146. WHAT THE others say. Financial Express. 17, 39; 1991, Apr. 5; 6.

The skill and resourcefulness of the Election Commission to ensure free and fair polls will be tested to the full in the coming weeks. The problem of the chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, must be that even to enforce universally accepted norms and codes of conduct by political parties and candidates engaged in the fray, clearly laid out rules and regulations are not available. The Election Commission has warned against the use of religion, caste or language for electoral purposes.

--, KARNATAKA, ANDHRA PRADESH, SIKKIM, GOA

147. PRAKASAM (KP). Election scene. Nation and the World. 3, 76; 1994, Dec. 1; 49.

The election commissioner's announcement of the poll programme on September 27, 1994, in the four states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Sikkim and Goa. The rigorous enforcement of the code of conduct by the chief election commissioner is with a view to ensuring free and fair elections and preventing misuse of power by the ruling

party known as the "Seshan Effect" - it has almost numbered the congress party. The EC restricting poll expenditure to Rs 1.35 lakhs for a candidate seems to have dampened enthusiasm of candidates and tied their hands against high profile electioneering.

--, MONEY, MUSCLE POWER, CORRUPTION

148. CURBING MONEY power in polls. Competition Master. 33, 10; 1992, May; 696.

Money and muscle power unfortunately play a vital role in elections in India. In fact, the numerous electoral malpractices are ugly taints on Indian democracy and account for debasement of our political life. In March, 1992, this year the election commission made new proposals for poll reforms. Some of these are discussed in this feature.

--, OFFICIALS, TRANSFER

149. NOORANI (AG). Transfers of officials on poll eve. Financial Express. 17, 45; 1991, Apr, 11; 8.

The election commissioner's order on April 3, 1991 on the transfer of officials by several state governments has come not a day too soon and deserves to be welcomed. On March 19, 1991, the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. T.N.

Seshan announced that transfers of officials connected with election duty were being banned but with effect from March 25, 1991 and that the code of conduct for the ruling party would apply from April 2, 1991. There is a ruling of the supreme court which endows the election commission with enormous powers to ensure a free and fair poll.

—, —, MONEY, MISUSE

150. COURT EXPOSES black money in polls. Competition Master. 36, 3; 1994, Oct; 206.

The increasing use of unaccounted money and hidden funds from various sources in elections is coming to light every now and then. In the summer months of 1994 the election commission directed that every candidate for the Lok Sabha and a state assembly must file a detailed statement of accounts by a specified date. The chief election commissioner recently ordered an enquiry against Rajasthan chief minister Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and defeated congress candidate M.L. Jain, alongwith 76 Assembly candidates, as the returns of election expenses filed by them were found to be defective in connection with the expenses on printing and pasting of posters, wall writings and publication of advertisements.

--, RESCHEDULED, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, BIHAR

151. CHAUDHURI (Kalyan). Crisis on the cards: In Bihar, a battle before the ballot. Frontline. 12, 2; 1995, Jan, 14-27; 39.

Chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan extended the deadline for the issue of cards and rescheduled the elections. Announcing the new dates, the election commission ruled out further changes. It warned that it would take recourse to the law if the the state government failed to issue the cards on scheduled time the commission can withhold the election. Particularly if the state government fails to meet the deadline on the cards.

--, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS

152. VENKATESAN (V). Positive bill: For election free and fair. Frontline. 11, 24; 1994, Nov 19 - Dec 2; 31.

Discusses the benefits for the issuing photo identity card. This bill has many positive features. It seeks to discourage non-serious candidates, reduce campaign period to 14 days provide statutory status to election observers, and give legal sanction to the model code of conduct. It also seek to prevent misuse

of official vehicles during the campaign and to give maximum punishment to the violators of the model political parties endorse in principle the decision to issue the cards, none of them openly discusses the serious implications of the exercise.

-, POWER, ELECTION MACHINERY, REFORMS, POLITICAL PARTIES, ACADEMICIANS, SUGGESTION

153. SHASTRI (Sandeep). Need to replace first-past the post system. Mainstream. 30, 47; 1992, Sep, 12; 7.

The pressing need for electoral reforms has been recognised by various political parties, academicians and even the election commission. The reforms should take a look at the electoral process itself and examine alternative systems of representation, restructure the election commission and redefine its powers, overhaul the election machinery and formulated a comprehensive election code. The EC has frequently drawn the attention of the government to the fact that the undue multiplicity of candidates' is both undesirable and confusing.

-,-, ELECTORAL LAW

154. CAREFUL, MR Seshan. Economic Times. 31, 43; 1991, Apr, 16; 10.

The chief election commissioner must not only be impartial, he must be seen to be so. There are four reasons why Mr. T.N. Seshan, the CEC must proceed carefully in deciding on the petition requesting derecognition of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the freezing of its election symbol. There is nothing in the existing law which authorises anyone in the country to decreognise a party for any reason whatever between two elections. The powers of election commission come into party only when the election process starts, not before. The timing of the ruling by Mr. Seshan is such as to constitute interference in the electoral process. For all these reasons, Mr. Seshan must proceed in accordance with the spirit of the existing law.

-, PRESIDENT'S RULE, BIHAR, VIEWS

155. WELCOME MOVE. Avenue Mail. 2, 268; 1995, Mar, 30; 4.

The imposition of president's rule in Bihar was the most logical step. The central rule was in the offering following the constant staggering of election dates by the chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan on the

pretent of ensuring free and fair polls. Despite deterioration all round, the centre somehow failed to arrive at a decision on imposition of president's rule in Bihar. It was only after the CEC's forcing a constitutional crisis in the state. The centre decided to impose central rule - President's rule in Bihar is a welcome step.

-, RAILWAY, UNION BUDGET, POSTPONEMENT, WRONG DIRECTION, CRITICISM

156. RETRIBUTION AWAITED. Statesman. 129, 16; 1995, Jan, 19; 8.

Mr. T.N. Seshan is looking in the wrong direction when he seeks to persuade the Union government to postpone the railway and union budget for fear that voters in the four states going to the polls in February/March 1995 will be unduly influenced by some of the proposals they may or may not contain. If Mr. Seshan picks this up, the question is for the tribunal to decide under the law and he cannot interface. Again by time this issue is resolved, the election will be over.

-, RAJYA SABHA, ELECTORAL REFORMS

157. VERMA (Sudesh Kumar). Electoral reforms the issue.

Amrita Bazar Patrika. 125, 45; 1994, Feb, 4; 9.

T.N. Seshan has his own style. Nothing can prevent

him from doing what he decides to investigate into the cases of supplying wrong information about residential status of some elected members to Rajya Sabha is on firm ground. The issue of the introduction of Icards to the voters before the next general elections in 1995 lies at the heart of all problems affecting electoral malpractices. Seshan moves like a lion among the lambs.

-, RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS, REFUSAL

158. SAHOO (Ratan Kumar). Yatra and electoral equations.

Third Concept. 7, 8; 1993, Nov; 19.

Article 102 and 191 to the constitution were also expected to be amended to disqualify individuals or associations of individuals using religion or religious symbols for elections to parliament or state legislatures. Apart from it section 29A of the 1951 representation of the people (Amendment) Act would be extended to see that political parties bearing a religious name were not registered by the Election Commission and complaint regarding the Election Commission could be filed in the Supreme Court or a High court.

-, STATE ASSEMBLY, POLLS, CENTRAL MINISTERS, INTERFERENCE

159. SHASTRI (Sandeep). Strengthening the election commission. Mainstream. 31, 40; 1993, Aug, 14; 21.

This article by the author was written before the chief election commissioner's latest bombshell. Seshan had expressed his displeasure over a central minister interfering in the conduct of the elections in the state assemblies of UP, MP, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh would be held within a year of the imposition of president's rule. But according to the election commission a constitutional status that the superintendence, direction and control of the electoral rolls and of all elections to parliament and the legislatures of states was independent of and outside the executive. An election commission is able to assert its rule and stand up to the political pressures exerted by the government.

-, STATES, POLLS, TIME SCHEDULE, CRITICISM

160. SESHAN (K). Its illegal and arbitrary. Hindustan Times. 71, 2; 1995, Jan, 2; 13.

Mr. T.N. Seshan's threatening finally on December 29, 1994 to the effect that he would not hold election to the five states already announced by him if he is not satisfied that the task of complying. The scheme of

issuing identity cards to all elector has not been accomplished in any state within the extended time schedule is illegal, unconstitutional and arbitrary. The task of election commission under the basic constitutional provision of Article 324 is to conduct a free and fair election and not in any event interdict if her any reason however important if may be.

-, SUGGESTION, BUDGET

161. SESHAN'S BRAINWAVE. Hindustan Times. 71, 12; 1995, Jan, 12; 13.

Had it not been for the BJP plea to Mr. T.N. Seshan to prevent parliament meeting for. If budget session during polling in five states the election commission extraordinary editt on the central and railway budget could have been dismissed as another puerile effort to cleans electoral process. Mr. Seshan had by implication accepted the central government's prerogative in fixing the partimentary calender. The CEU directive that the budgets should not be presented before March 11, 1995. The CEC is using powers without accountability. The only accountability he has into the president who, under the some constitution. Mr. Seshan swears by function on the advise of the Council of Ministers that is accountable to parliament.

Mr. Narasimha Rao must demand that the railway and central budget would in fact be instruments of mischief if presented by February 28.

---, POSTPONEMENT

162. DANDAVATE (Madhu). Seshan is intrusions. Indian Express. 61, 91; 1995, Feb, 2; 8.

Mr. Seshan must realise that it is only parliament that has the power to scrutinise the budget and propose any changes. The chief election commissioner cannot appropriate the right which constitutionally and legitimately belongs to parliament. The CEC, Mr. Seshan, has implemented several electoral reforms such as enforcement of a fair code of conduct for the candidates contesting elections, issuing photo identity cards to voters for fair and free elections. The statement of the CEC that in case the budget is presented prior to the assembly elections, he would examine whether the budget contained any populist measures to influence the voters and then take the necessary action is not tenable. It is only parliament that has the power to scrutinise the budget and propose any changes. The supreme court has to some extent, already restrained the chief election commissioner.

163. FISCAL CHALLENGE. Times of India. 158, 25; 1995, Jan; 12.

The need to postpone the presentation of the union railway and general budgets to parliament, had unfortunately become inevitable given the revised schedule for state assembly elections. One of the reasons cited by Mr. Seshan when he recommended postponement of the union budget was that it might influence voters to favour the ruling party. The continued political tussles in the ruling party may have succeeded in diverting the government's attention from the hard reality of the fiscal tasks ahead.

164. GOVERNANCE ON hold. Indian Express. 63, 70; 1995, Jan, 12; 8.

In asking the union government not to present the budget till the completion of polling on March 11, 1995, the election commission has arrogated to itself imaginary powers. Its contention that the budget can influence the voters amounts to stretching the definition of propriety from the sublime to the ridiculous. It is true that the EC enjoys some extra ordinary powers in the conduct of elections. The EC's stand presupposes that the voters are mindlessly influenced by the soaps that the government may announce.

165. PREPOSTOROUS. Economic Time. 34, 33; 1995, Jan, 11; 8.

The election commission suggestion that the union and railway budgets should be postponed is ridiculous. Democracy is not about elections. What make the ECs suggestion turly prepostorous is the fact that the entire responsibility for the overlap at assembly election in five states with the presentation of the union budged i.e. with commission itself underlying the EC's views about positive vote buying via the union budget is the notion that the eletrorate can be influenced by last minute promises the railway and the union. budgets eater to the entire nation not just to some small part at it.

166. BOLL FIRST, budget later. Hindustan Times. 31, 71; 1995, Jan, 31; 13.

One happy feature of the government decision to pull of presentation of the railway budget and union budget until after March 14, 1995 is that it has emerged by way of consensus between parties concerned. But for that it would have turned out to be potemical whichever way the government chose to responsnd to the chief election commissioner's proposal. The decision may rate among the very few proposal made by the CEC Mr Seshan

changing the mechanics of the electoral process that have been accept without much controversial debate or argument. It is examatic that budgets can be used to apply voter influence if a government so desire.

-, SUPREME COURT, CONVERSION, EQUAL STATUS, MULTI.

MEMBER COMMISSION

167. NOW FOR some team work. Hindustan Times. 71, 252; 1995, Sep, 10; 11.

The dismissal of the review petition of the chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, by the supreme court has settled an important issue that has been hanging fire for two years. He was within his rights when he challenged the presidential ordinance and the consequent Act which converted the election commission into a multi-member body and accorded equal status to all the three member's of the commission including the chief election commissioner. Decision by the majority does not mean that the working of the commission will suffer. Mr. Seshan and his colleagues have stupendous tasks ahead and they should work as a team.

--, JUDGEMENT, MULTI-MEMBER COMMISSION

168. SANGHVI (Vir). Humpty dumpty has a great fall. Blitz.
55, 29; 1995, July, 22; 3.

Vir Sanghvi has a feeling that T.N. Seshan knew that the supreme court would rule against him. The election commission is now a three member body and that Seshan is no more that the first among equals only the supreme court had the power to any conclusions. But author feels certain that in the months ahead, we will be hearing even more of T.N. Seshan.

---, CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER, SESHAN (TN),
EQUAL STATUS, CHALLENGE

169. NOT ANY more by confrontation. Hindu. 1995,
Aug, 31; 8.

In this editorial it is seen that a full meeting of the commission should be regarded as an important first step towards an amicable working of the multi-member body. Mr. Seshan had ignored the pleas of the election commissioners to have a combined session where they could discuss important matters concerning the commission. Here CEC challenged the judgement giving equal status to the two commissioner by the supreme court.

--,--, PETITION, MULTI-MEMBERS COMMISSION

170. QUESTION OF dignity. Hindustan Times. 71, 38; 1995, Feb, 7; 13.

While the nation of eagerly awaiting the supreme court judgement on the chief election commissioners' petition challenging the validity of a multi members commission functioning on the basis of decision by majority. Some of the observations which the opex court has made at the hearing stage of the case in the public interest. The election commission is an important constitutional office entrusted with the enormous responsibility of conducting elections. No doubt independence at the election commission in the bedrock of democracy. But nowhere in the constitution is it mentioned that the election commissioners are a mere appendage to the chief election commissioner.

-, SUPREME COURT, CHIEF ELECTION, POWERS, COMMISSIONER

171. SAHAY (S). All eyes on court. Hindustan Times. 71, 12; 1995, Jan, 12; 13.

The nation wait with baited breath for the supreme court ruling on the powers of the chief election commissioner to withhold or differ election on the grounds at

non-issuance of identity cards. A request of the election commission to the central government is to defer representation at the general and railway budget. It is not clear whether or not it is acceptable to the central government. In any case it is fall order exceeding the authority at the election commission. One of the important elections whether or not voting is a fundamental right of the citizens. It appears that the supreme court has held it to be a more statutory right in some cases. If the CEC has been unfair and

--, RESTRICTION, MODEL ELECTORAL

172. MITTA (Manoj). Reined. India Today. 19, 8; 1994, Apr, 16-30; 74.

By clamping down on T.N. Seshan, the supreme court has not just silenced him but also restricted the chief election commissioner's thrust on the model electoral code. Seshan will now have to approach the court to enforce the decisions he had taken in the name of the model code. The supreme court clamps down on the chief election commissioner for his remarks on the functioning of the judiciary, restricting his initiative on the model code.

--, STAY ORDER, CHIEF ELECTION COMMISSIONER, SESHAN (TN),
VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, DECISION

173. HALF A Set back. Indian Express. 63, 78; 1995, Jan, 20; 8.

The supreme courts' interim order staying chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan's order making election in Bihar and Orissa conditional as proving photo identity cards to the voters has removed the uncertainty that has been dogging the assembly polls. The question whether the CEC has power to insist on I-cards for holding general elections is yet to be settled. As such, the centre should take the initiative to bring forward the necessary law to ensure that in all the elections beginning with the 1996 Lok Sabha poll, the voters must have identity cards to exercise their franchise.

--, VOTE, RIGHT, BOMBAY, CONTROVERSY

174. ROLLERS AND voter right. Hindustan Times. 71, 40; 1995, Feb, 9; 13.

The supreme court verdict restoring the voting right about 42,000 resident of Bombay struck off the electoral rolls and disallowing similarly summary deletion of names from Delhi rolls should not be a matter of such controversy on it for unfortunately occasion. It is the large consensus in favour of long overdue measures to curb the population

at fake voters at this category that has ensured broad support too for Mr. T.N. Seshan over jealous campaign for photo identity cards. However, it is equally important to ensure that the exercise does not deprive any Indian citizen at his inalienable democratic right.

—, —, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, ASSEMBLY POLLS, POSTPONE
BIHAR

175. TROUBLE AHEAD. Avenue Mail. 2, 245; 1995, Mar, 4; 4.

The supreme courts refusal to maintain the status quo of the ruling Janata Dal government in Bihar in view of the postponement of elections to the state assembly beyond March 15, 1995 the date on which the present legislature's term expires is leading clearly to a constitutional crisis. The Bihar government is obviously sore at the CEC's decision. But the plain truth is that Mr. Seshan hardly had any option left but to postpone the elections. The CEC's bowing to Laloo over the photo identity cards issue was just the beginning of his play to harass the Bihar, Chief Minister, Mr. Seshan has proved, that he is the boss when election are concerned.

-, UNION CABINET, MINISTERS, DISMISSAL, MODEL CODE OF
CONDUCT

176. JAIN (Minu). Verdict guilty. Sunday. 21, 48; 1994, Dec 4 -
10; 46.

T.N. Seshan recommends the dismissal of two ministers from the Union Cabinet for violating the model code of conduct. The election commission pulled up two union ministers - Kapathi Rai and Sitaram Kesri - for violating the model code of conduct. But narasimha Rao is unmoved. In this feature, there are some of the guidelines issued by the Election Commission as part of the model code of conduct.

-, UNION GOVERNMENT, REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLES ACT,
AMENDMENT, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS, UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE,
REPRESENTATION OF PEOPLE BILL

177. JAIN (Paha Chand). Is I-card a must? Avenue Mail. 2, 192;
1995, Jan, 8; 4.

The union government has failed in the current winter session of the parliament to pass the representation of the people (2nd amendment) Bill, to delink the I-cards issue from the universal franchise. Election commission is empowered to direct that the provision of identity cards shall apply to any constituency or part

thereof as may be specified by him in the official Gazette of the state. Rule 35 of the conduct of election rules 1960 provides that for identification of an election the polling officer is the required to check the elector's. Name and other particulars with the entry in the electoral rule. If Mr. Seshan does so he will be exercising the plendry powers in an arbitrary manner and any citizen will be free to approach the supreme court for a write of mandamus or order against him.

-, UNION WELFARE MINISTER, KESRI (Sita Ram), DISQUALIFICATION

178. NATION'S PRINCIPAL. Telegraph. 12, 204; 1994, Feb, 4; 8.

The union welfare minister, Mr. Sitaram Kesri, sitting an appointments for fear of being disqualified for the Rajya Sabha is only the most recent fallout. What is remarkable about Mr. Seshan's effect on the Polity is the minimal amount of legal authority he wields. The best example of Mr. Seshan stretching his authority through force of character is his battle with almost every elected body in the country over identity cards. Hence also his non-stop war against the cash, criminality and corruption; to use his words, tainting the Indian electoral process.

-, Vs CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

179. CONSTITUTION DEMANDS consultation and not confrontation.
M 'n' M Magazine. 1, 6; 1993, Sep; 3.

The election commission has requested President S.D. Sharma to refer the dispute between the government and the commission on the powers and prerogative of the latter to the supreme court under Article 143 of the constitution for its opinion. Normally the President acts on the advice of the Council of Ministers. It is not only a question of legality, but more of propriety of the exercise of powers by the EC in the matter of deferring elections. The issue also relates to whether EC has the powers to give directives to the government on the deployment of policy for maintenance of law and order where the poll is to be held.

-, Vs SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT, MULTI-MEMBER

180. COLD WAR in EC. Hindustan Times. 71, 242; 1995, Aug, 19; 11.

The editorial highlights the cold war between the election commission and supreme court. The SC has suggested the impossible by asking the three-member election commission to strive for unanimously in decision-making.

The President can intervene but the chief election commission is not bound by any command from Rashtrapati Bhavan.

-, VIOLATION, ASSEMBLY ELECTION IGNORANCE, MANIPUR

181. INSTABILITY AGAIN. Statesman. 129, 46; 1995, Feb, 24; 6.

Surprisingly, the election commission took little notice of the large scale violence during the preceding the polls in Manipur Assembly. The murder of a Manipur people's party candidate and the BJP leader and the murder of eight, including six CRPF jawans were ignored.

-, -, POLLS, BIHAR, VIEWS

182. RIGHT TRACK. Avenue Mail. 2, 265; 1995, Mar, 27; 4.

The occurrence of violence during polls in Bihar on March 25, 1995 despite the chief election commissioner's repeated warnings to the contrary, goes to prove beyond doubt that the Laloo government has indeed failed to ensure free and fair poll. Yet the violence proves that the Bihar state government was never really serious about maintaining the norms set by the CEC. The intentions of Seshan are quite clear. He is for free and fair election in the country. The percentage turnouts are a pointer to

to the fact that people have come out in larger numbers at the polling booths. Therefore, Mr. Seshan can be said to be on the right track.

-, VOTER LIST, FRANCHISE, CANCELLATION, MUSLIM COMMUNITY,
MAHARASHTRA

183. DANIEL TO judgement. Statesman. 129, 34; 1995, Feb, 10; 6.

The supreme court has moved decisively to right the wrong sought to be done to 1.67 lakh citizens belonging to the muslim community in Maharashtra. The SC according directed to election commission to initiate fresh proceedings disclosing the material on which they had reason to suspect that the person concerned was not a citizen of India. The election commission had used the police for verification, imposed a light time frame and threatened discipline action if the police is incurred its displeasure. The SC also founded as a fact that the instructions issued from time to time by the election commission have given wrong singles.

-, VOTER LISTS, BOMBAY, SUPREME COURT, RULING

184. END TO arbitrariness. Indian Express. 63, 99; 1995, Feb, 10; 8.

Every citizen of this country will be thankful for

the supreme court's directions to the election commissions' exposing and putting an immediate end to haphazard procedures for identifying foreigners in voters' lists in Greater Bombay and elsewhere. Following that, 42,000 citizens presumed foreigners were about to be deprived of their right of franchise assurances by the Maharashtra Chief Secretary of a detailed revenues not withstanding. With the apex court now directing the election commission to initiate a fresh inquiry to determine citizenship about 1.67 lakh persons whose status was questioned will be allowed to vote unhindered in 1995 assembly poll. The curex of the supreme court's decision is that fresh proceedings can be initiated only after disclosing the material basis on which there is reason to suspect a person is not a citizen.

-, VOTERS IDENTITY CARDS

185. RAJAGOPALAM (R). Question of identity. Sunday. 21, 1; 1994, Jan, 2-8; 14.

Author highlights the question of identity cards for voters. In the past, when an experiment of issues voter IDs in the sensitive north-eastern states of Sikkim and Nagaland Hopped, it was election commission itself that reported "practical and administrative

difficulties in the implementation". Seshan has made recommendations that has got the politicians and bureaucrats varied. Some of these recommendations are discussed in this features.

--, ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS, BIHAR, CHIEF MINISTER,
YADAV (Laloo Prasad)

186. The noise that Laloo Prasad Yadav makes over Mr. T.N. Seshan's threat not to recommend notification of the dates for the state assembly election cannot cloud the fact that the Bihar government like its counterpart in Orissa has been given enough time to issue photo identity card to voters; the order were issued as far back as August, 1993. It will also justify not only the identity card but other and sterner measure that Mr. Seshan may take to cleanse the poll scene in the country's most notoriously violence prone states.

--,--, MANIPUR

187. POLLS IN Manipur. Statesman. 129, 32; 1995, Feb, 8; 6.

The Manipur chief Minister, Mr. Rishang Keishing, has reportedly sought permission of the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, to hold the assembly

election on February 16 and 19 without photo identity cards on the plea that not only was administration not able to complete the process. These issued the eligible voters have been taken away by underground elements. Strangely Mr. Seshan is silent which, reports are any indication, appears to be far more chaotic than that prevailed in the pre-election days in Tripura in 1993, facing him to postpone the poll party 48 hours before the due date.

--,--,-- POSTPONEMENT, OVER RULED, SUPREME COURT

188. EC'S PLOYS. Economic Times. 34, 310; 1995, Jan, 18; 8.

The chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, has been given the judicial equivalent of a public spanking. The supreme court has only served as the forum for the regrettable incident; the perpetrator of the offence has been Mr. Seshan. It is Mr. Seshan's obduracy on the question of voter identity cards that had led him to postpone the elections to the five states going to the polls by the end of February, 1995. The threat has been averted by Mr. Seshan's submission before supreme court that his stance had been a ploy to get the states to finish the job of giving all voters

identity cards at least in time for next round of general elections. Mr. Seshan should now do the sensible thing and change his views into a mere ploy to prod the central into budgetary rectitude.

--,--, VOTERS, DISENFRANCHISE, POSSIBLE

189. MITTA (Manoj). Next bout begins. Economic and Political Weekly. 20, 2; 1995, Jan, 16-31; 101.

Every round of assembly polls conducted by chief election commissioner T.N. Seshan has been marked by a major innovation. The current round of elections in six states are ushering in photo identity cards. Seshan's intransigence over the implementation of the I-cards scheme raises the possibility of some voters being disenfranchised. Estimated to cost over Rs 1000 crore, the efficiency of the I-cards is still in doubt. The I-card stipulation has played havoc with the election schedules in various states.

--,--, BIHAR, DISTRIBUTION

190. BNATNAGAR (Rakesh). EC's power face another scrutiny. Times of India. 158, 19; 1995, Jan, 23; 12.

Much depends on the Bihar government's response to the election commission's stand on allowing election in the Janata Dal ruled state without identity cards.

The Bihar government which claims to have prepared one crore identity cards, though not distributed among the voters took over 18 months on the job. It depends on the courts' decision that the commission is empowered to enlarge the scope of Article 324 and certain provisions of the representation of people act.

-. -, CONSTITUTION, CRISIS

191. MISTAKEN IDENTITY. Economic Times. 34, 291; 1994, Dec, 30; 8.

The chief election commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, has made a significant contribution to the Indian democracy by reforming the electoral process. But his recent slogan 'no identity cards, no elections' may create a constitutional crisis in states that have not been able to complete the exercise of issuing I-cards. But he must not make I-cards such a matter of principle that he refuses to hold elections. Such a cure will be worse than the disease it seeks to remedy. Mr. Seshan must also keep in mind that the exercise of issuing I-cards can be completed only after the publication of the final electoral rolls. The states should be given enough time to issue I-cards to the new voters in the final list.

-,-, CONTROVERSY

192. CHAKRAVARTTY (Nikhil). Picture of confusion. Telegraph.
12, 195; 1994, Jan, 25; 10.

The controversy over the question of identity cards for voters is by no means a storm in a te-cup. It has the potential to become a major issue of debate and decision at the national level. Mr. Seshan's recent decisions - enforcing election rules related to poll spending by candidates, release of official machinery for election campaigns, mixing up of ballot papers before counting the insistence on genuine residence qualifications for RajyaSabha candidates from the states - have earned him respect Mr. Seshan's proposal to issue identity cards to voters in all elections after January 1, 1995 has been favourably received by the general public.

-,-, CRISIS

193. SHASTRI (Sandeep). Identity card crisis. Mainstream.
32, 25; 1994, May, 7; 7.

In this issue it is given emphasis over the identity card crisis. Deadline set by chief election commissioner, T.N. Seshan, for the issue of photo identity cards to all voters, a major constitutional/political crisis appears in evitable. The acronym CHIME, Summarises the fundamentals

of a free and fair electoral process as outlined by the CEC: character, humanity, integrity, morality and empathy. In the 1960, C. Raja Gopal Chari demanded that voters be issued voting cards for exercising their franchise in a free and fair manner. Election commission on the eve of sixth generalelection in 1977 recommended that voter to given photo identity cards(PICs). The estimated cost varies from Rs 1000 crores to Rs 3500 crores.

--, CRITICISM, ORISSA

194. RAY (Tapas). Skirmish with the CEC. Frontline. 12, 2; 1995, Jan, 14-27; 34.

The author highlights the view that the postpone-ment announced by CEC T.N. Seshan, was the result of a series of Skirmishes between the state government and the Election commission when Seshan inisisted that photo identity cards would have to be issued to all eligible voters and no election could be held unless this was done. Orissa chief minister Biju Patnaik become one of the most vocal critic of this policy.

-, -, ISSUE

195. VENKATESAN (V). Whats on the cards. Frontline. 11, 20; 1994, Sep 24- Oct 7; 33.

The chief ministers meeting was held in New Delhi on September 12, 1994 to discuss the issue of photo identity cards on that occasion the election commission has issued a set of four orders addressed to the chief secretaries and the chief electoral officers of the states insisting that the work on issuing the cards be completed within the specified time framed. Hindustan photo films (HPE) has entered the fray, it can produce 18 lakh identity cards a day.

-, -, LOK SABHA, POLLS

196. REALISM ON I-card. Hindustan Times. 71, 266; 1995, Sep, 24; 13.

In deciding that the next Lok Sabha polls could be held without identity cards. The election commission has struck a balance between what is desirable and what is feasible. The deadlock created in Bihar by the chief election commissioner's insistence that the assembly elections would not be held without identity cards was resolved only after the intervention of the supreme court. It is significant that Mr. Senan and his colleagues

have taken a unanimous decision is the I-cards issue. The commission has stressed that every step should be taken to complete the issue of I-cards to all voters. How that the next elections can be held without the cards there is a danger of the states losing interest in them.

--, MAHARASHTRA

197. ID CARD absurdities. Indian Express. 63, 74; 1995, Jan, 16; 8.

The bureaucratic imagination has divided Maharashtra voters into four categories. Those with identity cards, those never photographed for faults of their own or of the election machinery and those whose homes have been deleted from voters lists but are citizens of India. The administration has an even larger agenda: discovering why every single adult had not come forward to be photographed. On the other side, it is not compulsory to vote but it has become compulsory to have an identity card. This is absurd and even orwellian.

--, OPPOSITION

198. SRIVASTAVA (Arun). Foiling EC's move. Rashtriya Sahara. 2, 8; 1994, Dec; 12.

It appears that there is a concerted political move

to foil the move of the chief election commission, T.N. Seshan to issue identity cards to voters. Having failed in their attempt to put Seshan in a tight corner the state governments are now using the issue of identity cards as a clever ploy to thwart his move. The relevant state government try to hamper the identity card process.

-, -, SUPREME COURT, JUDGEMENT

199. JAIN (Minu). What a rebuff. Sunday. 22, 5; 1995, Jan 29 - Feb 4; 10.

With the judgement, the supreme court has put an end to all the wrang linges between the Bihar government and T.N. Seshan over the rescheduling of assembly election the state. The supreme court has ruled that the forthcoming assembly polls would be held on schedule, with or in thought photo identity cards. Bihar it Seshan greatest challenge. The CEC has deputed one observe for every three constituencies, instead of the one-in-five pattern being followed in the other states.

--, WEST BENGAL

200. CARD GAMES. Telegraph. 12, 175; 1994, Jan, 5; 8.

A good administrative decision is one which is both commendable in principle as well as workable in practice. Seshan has rightly focussed on the need for personal identity cards. The West Bengal government has found a valid handle with which to obstruct the orders of its bete noise. The West Bengal government is nit picking when it demands to know whether these identity cards will be used for purposes other than elections. The inter-state council had in principle agreed to the issue of identity cards for voters, the election commission, the centre and the state governments could well have sat together to sort out the modus operandi.

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